

SAND TRAP

EDITORIAL

When George Bush mindlessly rushed American troops to Saudi Arabia last August, he boxed this country into a corner. Since then we've been pushed steadily toward a devastating Mideast war. His latest move—dispatching 100,000 more troops to the Gulf—converts U.S. capability from defensive to offensive. This was a logical step in an illogical process, but it is also a giant step toward a war in which there can be no winners.

When Bush decided to oppose Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, he had two paths to choose between. He decided to take both. First, he went to the United Nations and got near-unanimous agreement to impose an embargo on Iraq. Second, he decided unilaterally to play world policeman and, despite protests from U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and several members of the U.N. Security Council, shipped 230,000 troops into the Mideast desert without U.N. approval.

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From black nationalists to integrationists, scholars are reconsidering the contributions of Booker T. Washington.

Black empowerment: recasting 'Uncle Tom'

By Salim Muwakkil

A stifling ideological orthodoxy has left the African-American community adrift and rudderless during a period in history when it is particularly vulnerable. But that may be changing with the emergence of a new group of theorists who are touting the once-maligned ideas of Booker T. Washington as the next new thing.

Washington is an unlikely figure for veneration. Although he was black America's leading figure at the dawn of the 20th century, his reputation had fallen on hard times. In fact, Washington's name virtually had become synonymous with the derisive term "Uncle Tom." But because this country's current racial crisis has sent theorists scouring through history looking for

lessons unlearned, increasing numbers of them have found merit in Washington's teachings.

The populizers of Washington's ideas are sprinkled along the ideological spectrum, and they enter the beleaguered black leader's orbit from different directions. From left to right, from black nationalists to dedicated integrationists, from the bourgeoisie to the underclass, all are finding something to like in Washington. While some openly acknowledge their debt to him, others are more circumspect.

Among their ranks are Shelby Steele, a professor of English at San Jose State University and author of the well-received book *The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race in America*; Stanley Crouch, a New York-based writer and critic who wrote *Notes of a Hanging Judge*; Harold Cruse, professor emeritus of history at the University of Michigan and author of *Plural but Equal*; Robert Woodson, president of the Washington, D.C.-based National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise; Molefi Kete Asante, chairman of Temple University's African-American studies program and author of *Afrocentricity*; Tony Brown, a television producer and syndicated columnist; and Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

These men have little in common save their admiration for Washington's foresight and forbearance. And while the movement is mostly male, a small core of black women are beginning to make their presence known. Elizabeth Wright, editor of the New York-based conservative newsletter *Issues & Views*; and Hoover Institution scholar Anne Wortham, whose book, *The Other Side of Racism*, debunks many of the civil-rights movement's most cherished notions, are two rising stars of the new Washingtonians.

Up from slavery: Born a slave in Virginia in 1856, Washington was black America's most prominent figure from the 1890s until his death in 1915. He graduated from Hampton Institute, a black college in his home state, and in 1881 he founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama.

Washington generally is classified as an "accommodationist" who adopted a conciliatory stance toward the racial discrimination that was the code of the South. He perhaps is best known for his exhortation during a 1895 speech at the International Exposition in Atlanta for blacks to "cast down your buckets where they are." He wrote a book in 1901 entitled *Up from Slavery* that remained an enormous best-seller throughout the early 1900s. Because of his gradualist philosophy and apparent acceptance of the racist status quo, Washington has been harshly judged as an apologist for white supremacy.

But Washington also believed in principles of self-help, racial solidarity, economic empowerment, vocational education and the cultivation of moral values—principles currently in vogue, via the Nation of Islam and the Afrocentric movement. He created the National Negro Business League in 1900 to institutionalize those principles. Now his admirers have recast his accommodationist stance as a tactical ploy to divert white attention while ensuring black empowerment.

The thesis at the core of Steele's new book echoes Washington's belief that it is more important for black Americans to focus on character development and enterprise than on racial protest. "We need to inspire and encourage blacks rather than blame them or others for past failures," Steele said in an interview in the fall 1990 *New Perspectives Quarterly*. "This attitude has nothing to do with liberal or conservative politics; it's a very old message in black America that can be traced back to the views of Booker T. Washington ... who constantly reminded black people of that slim margin of choice open to them and who challenged blacks to seize any and all opportunity to develop."

Washington's approach emphasized practical education, moral discipline and political quiescence. Rather than advise African-Americans to waste resources on social protest, Washington urged more energy be focused on developing the civic skills destroyed by centuries of slavery. In *Up from Slavery*, he wrote, "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that

will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized."

The way they were: For Washington, "the surest road to racial equality for blacks was through black economic enterprise, not civil-rights legislation as a programmatic priority," Cruse wrote in *Plural but Equal*. Historically, Washington's ideas stood in contrast to those of the prominent black scholar, journalist and organizer W.E.B. DuBois, who argued that blacks should increase their involvement in higher education, social agitation and political protest. Conflicts between the DuBois reformers and Washington's "Tuskegee Machine" accommodationists often were acrimonious.

And though the differences—and similarities—between Washington and DuBois are more complex than a simple rivalry of reformer vs. accommodationist, their differing responses to U.S. racism clearly identify a recurring dialectic in African-American history. The reformer strain—the civil-rights movement and the left—has been dominant since the '40s. Thus Washington's "Uncle Tom" image.

But now, even his critics judge him in a kinder light. "Accommodation for Washington was a political style, not a political philosophy," wrote socialist Manning Marable in his 1985 book *Black American Politics*. "His long-range goal was to create ... racial parity within the political economy of capitalism. To ensure the success of this strategy, Washington publicly accepted racial segregation codes and political disenfranchisement."

Clout meister: One of his most ambitious projects was

INSIDE STORY

the attempt to develop trade connections between African-Americans and Africans. It was Washington's entrepreneurial example that inspired Marcus Garvey to establish his Universal Negro Improvement Association. In fact, Garvey left his native Jamaica in 1915 at Washington's behest.

During his lifetime Washington wielded more clout within the black community than anyone had before or perhaps since. His power emanated from his widespread political influence and popularity with major philanthropists. For example, Washington served as a political adviser on Negro affairs to presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. All black men who were appointed to presidential offices during that time were first recommended by Washington. According to historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, no black schools received contributions from major donors, including Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, without Washington's approval.

Among Washington's new acolytes are many former detractors. Philosophical conservatives such as economists Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams spread his self-help gospel, as do the firebrand orators of the Nation of Islam and the various neonationalist groups that follow its lead. More remarkably, Hooks, though he heads the NAACP—an organization created in 1909 specifically to counter Washington's Tuskegee Machine—recently has embarked on a separate program that is quintessentially Washingtonian.

Hooks was recently named executive chairman of the newly formed National Association of Black Organizations (NABO), a group dedicated to promoting black self-help and self-reliance (see *In These Times*, Oct. 16). Although he heads the nation's premier civil-rights organization, Hooks understands the need for new approaches to stem the spiraling decline of black America.

"We must take control of our destiny," Hooks said at NABO's founding convention this summer. "We have a moral responsibility to attack the problems in our community with the best weapon at our disposal: black unity." Booker T. would have been proud. □

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By John P. Canham-Clyne

US. SUPPORT FOR "DEMOCRACY" IN THE post-Cold War world faces a major challenge in the country that receives more American aid than any other except Israel and Egypt.

Evidence points to the likelihood that Pakistan's military-backed Islamic Democratic Alliance—or IJI, by its Urdu initials—stole numerous seats from the People's Democratic Alliance (PDA), led by ousted Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the October 24 National Assembly elections.

Nevertheless, a group of international observers organized by the U.S.-funded National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has given the new government a veneer of legitimacy by issuing a statement two days after the polling describing the election as "generally open, orderly and well-administered" on the local level.

U.S. law requires the administration to certify Pakistan's elections as "free and fair" before sending any more aid. At a November hearing before House Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Chairman Stephen Solarz (D-NY), Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly indicated that the administration will rely heavily on NDI's findings in the certification process.

Other international monitors, however, came to less sanguine conclusions than the NDI team. A group of French observers from the International Federation for Human Rights reported, "The results giving a very large majority to the IJI ... can be partly explained by a mechanism of highly sophisticated rigging which would have occurred between the polling stations and the offices responsible for collecting results at the [district] level."

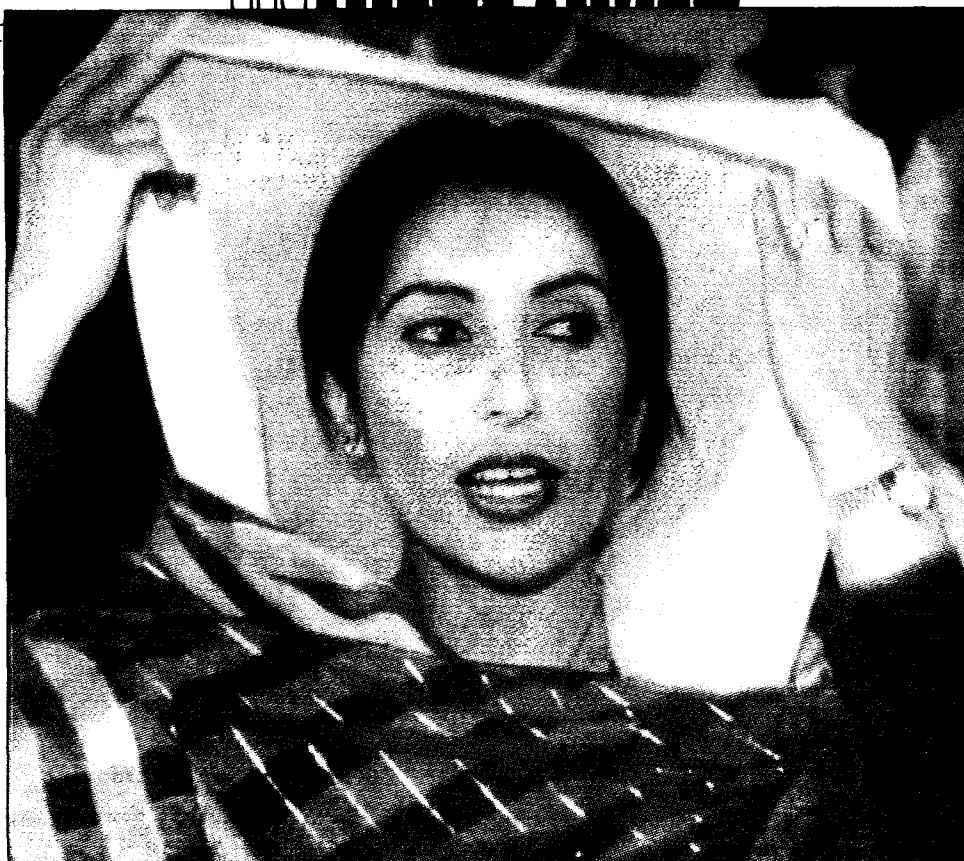
On the surface, Pakistan's electoral laws would seem to preclude a major fix. The election commission assigns a "presiding officer" to each of 33,500 polling stations across the country. On election night, presiding officers are required to open the ballot boxes in the polling stations and count the votes in the presence of certified polling agents of the parties contesting the elections.

When the count is complete, the presiding officer transmits a tally signed and certified by all the polling agents to a "returning officer." The returning officer adds the tallies from all polling stations for a specific seat and submits the result to the election commission. By law, the polling agents also must be provided with a tally sheet, so that each party contesting the election can make an independent count to verify the results.

Elections Chicago-style: But an analysis of PDA complaints to the chief election commissioner, sworn depositions from PDA workers, reports in the Pakistani press and eyewitness observations by international monitors document instances in which polling agents were barred from polling stations in at least 34 of the 206 districts.

The PDA claims it never received tallies from polling stations in 96 of the districts. Bhutto has called for another vote in these districts.

In certain cases, honest election officials refused to certify the results. In National Assembly District 127 in Punjab, some presiding officers refused to sign the tallies because PDA polling agents had been barred



Ousted Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto: calling for new elections in 96 of 206 districts.

Election irregularities point to stolen Pakistan assembly seats

from voting stations across the district at lunchtime. According to a letter of complaint from PDA Information Secretary Iqbal Haider to the chief election commissioner, the district returning officer nevertheless informed PDA polling agents that the PDA had won the seat 43,000 to 32,000. That night, however, the results on Pakistan TV included an additional 29,000 IJI voters, with the IJI winning the seat 61,000 to 43,000.

It is between the end of the vote counts at the polling stations and the announcement of results on television that the PDA claims the most massive rigging took place.

Apparently, a political authority outside the election commission directed the fraud. A member of the NDI team made a copy of a letter received by an election commission official in Balochistan province giving him instructions to report his results to a provincial "election cell" before giving them to the district returning officer.

This would allow the riggers to receive a running count of the results and then direct the production of enough fraudulent votes to capture the seat. The reporting of partial results to anyone outside the election commission is a blatant violation of Pakistani election law.

Similar evidence of political pressure on election officials can be found in a sworn deposition from a PDA polling agent in National Assembly District 85 in Punjab. The polling agent claims that the presiding officer at his polling place told him he had "instructions from the top" to withhold the signed certificate of the results.

Vote early, vote often: The IJI reportedly also found ways to manufacture votes during the day. The Peshawar daily *Frontier Post* reports that a provincial intelligence agency in Punjab has alleged that each IJI candidate in the region of Multan handed out 3,000 to 4,000 bogus national identification cards to loyal party workers. The workers, each armed with 10 to 20 of these fake

IDs bearing his or her picture but a different name, address and birth date, registered and voted at several different polling stations. The newspaper reported that the party workers were provided with a substance that allowed them to remove the supposedly indelible ink from their thumbs after they imprinted their ballots.

In four of seven districts in Multan, voter turnout was up by an average of 20,000 per seat, or more than 15 percent. Six of the seven seats in Multan were won by the PPP in 1988. But this year the IJI took five seats, with another going to an IJI-allied party called the JUP. Only one seat went to the PDA.

The tactics were even less subtle in National Assembly District 160 in Bhutto's home Sind province, where the former prime minister's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, squared off against Ghulam Murtaza Khan, the son of then-caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. Three people died and 20 were injured in the election-day intimidation. Khan himself reportedly oversaw the closing of several polling places and the seizure of the ballot boxes.

In an interview in the November issue of the Pakistani monthly *Newsline*, Barnett Rubin, professor of political science at Columbia University, recounted being in the home of the election commissioner of the neighboring Sukkur area as the commissioner received phone reports from throughout Sind province. Rubin, one of only two Urdu speakers on the NDI delegation, said, "They told us, as these returns were coming in, that the PPP had won in all three constituencies of Sukkur district. In addition, they told us that [Khan] had been defeated in his Nawabshah constituency by Asif Ali Zardari. ... So my friend and I were quite surprised to wake up the next morning to find the election commission had declared [Khan] the winner."

Spin control: The October 26 statement by the NDI team has become an embarrass-

ment. The *New Republic's* Hendrik Hertzberg, himself a member of the delegation, closed his November 19 "Pakistan Diarist" column with a long fit of handwringing. "I am left with a feeling of unease. Perhaps our report should have mentioned that most of us had never been to Pakistan before, that we had little or no familiarity with Pakistani politics or culture, that we did not speak the language, that Pakistan is vast and our team's resources small and that we had no way of independently verifying the vote count."

Perhaps they shouldn't have made a report at all. In the *Newsline* interview, Rubin explains that the delegation's interpreters were provided by the government, and in one case refused to translate loud complaints by a large group of voters.

Observer delegations such as the NDI group are ill-equipped to detect sophisticated fraud, "especially on short order," Rubin said. "So there is an inherent danger in such missions that, for lack of evidence, they may end up certifying elections which are fraudulent."

While the NDI report noted various irregularities—including violence against candidates, polling officials and party workers; unbalanced access to Pakistan state-run television; and the establishment of the "election cell"—it concluded that "the delegation does not believe the above-mentioned problems significantly altered the outcome of the elections."

Ken Wollach, executive vice president of NDI and a member of the delegation, said the team made its statement so soon because a contingent of journalists expected it, and not to do so would have been irresponsible.

This explanation caused near-apoplexy for one influential congressional staffer, who, on condition of anonymity, said, "I find it unbelievable that they would issue a statement without the facts. While I'm not prepared to say that the will of the people of Pakistan was thwarted in [October's] election's, there's no way on God's Earth that 40 people who visited 500 polling stations out of 33,500 for 30 minutes each could know either. To please an audience of 1,000 journalists, they have certified what may be a fraudulent election as free and fair. The NDI report is devastating for democracy in Pakistan and devastating for the NDI."

NDI's efforts at spin control have taken on a farcical tinge. Earnestly slamming the barn door after the horse escaped, NDI President J. Brian Atwood sent a letter to Secretary of State James Baker on October 30. In it, he wrote, "Some members of Congress have expressed concern that the administration may base a certification [of the election's fairness] on the NDI's October 26 preliminary statement. I am sure you would agree that this would be inappropriate." But Atwood's hedging came too late. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler issued an endorsement of the election that afternoon, citing the statement as authority.

It seems that much of the proof of sophisticated fraud will have to be found in statistical analysis of voting patterns. NDI's analysis is being conducted by Lee Feldman, a member of the delegation and head of Global Analysis, Inc. Feldman's analysis is expected to be completed this week.

But the delegation's confidence in Feldman thus far seems unwarranted. In the

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By Joel Bleifuss

Did you know....

"Inflammatory descriptions in the media of Middle Eastern oil reserves, based largely on estimates from unexplored and partially surveyed areas, have lead Americans to believe that without unrestricted access to Arab oil we will face the downfall of civilization as we know it." So begins a report by Scott Henson and Kathy Mitchell, two University of Texas-Austin students who decided to "dispel some of the misconceptions surrounding the political economy of the Middle East crisis." What follows is a synopsis of some of their findings.

Oil prices have doubled not because there is an actual oil shortage but because of speculation in the oil-futures market driven by the current U.S. escalation. On September 26, *Oil Daily* reported European Economic Community Energy Commissioner Antonio Cardoso Cunha as saying that the rise in the price of oil was "totally unjustified and indefensible," that oil stocks in Europe and elsewhere were at "unusually high levels" and that the loss of Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil had "been made up." According to the September 20 *Oil Daily*, "With Nigeria and other OPEC members chipping in, the OPEC level of production may reach the OPEC ceiling [by December]." Further, in September the *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly (PIW)* reported that Saudi Arabia could easily "boost output [in October] by a further 10 percent, [but] all of this volume may not be saleable."

Apparently, that is now the case. Last week the *Wall Street Journal's* James Tanner reported that "production by OPEC has surged enough since the start of the Persian Gulf crisis to exceed the output ceiling of 22.5 million barrels a day set before hostilities broke out in early August." Conrad Gerber, president of Petro-Logistics Ltd., which monitors OPEC output, told Tanner, "OPEC could end up in the ridiculous situation of a production surplus even without Iraq and Kuwait."

Even Kuwait is helping make up for the loss of its domestic production. Prior to the invasion, the Kuwait state oil company KPC moved the headquarters of its subsidiary that manages overseas production from Kuwait City to London, where it joined KPC's refining and marketing subsidiaries. (Perhaps this was done so that Kuwait's ruling family would be able to commute from home to work without crossing time zones.) *PIW* reports, "Confidence is high that KPC can operate profitably. Restriction on its assets are being gradually lifted. Like other well-stocked oil companies, KPC has profited from the crude-oil price hike."

Skullduggery

George Bush has allegedly chosen to follow a CIA proposal that the U.S. forces in the Gulf fight "a limited war, circumscribed to Kuwait, which leaves the possibility of negotiations open," according to *Intelligence Newsletter*, a digest of in-house news from the world of espionage.

The Paris-based fortnightly presents the following scenario, which reads in part: "According to our information, Saddam Hussein and George Bush now know it is impossible to open negotiations without first engaging in a military confrontation. The real problem is to avoid letting it get out of control, thus the current shuttle diplomacy by Arab intermediaries [who are traveling back and forth between Baghdad, Aman and Washington setting the framework for negotiations between the U.S. and Iraq]. A priori, there is nothing against such a scenario to the extent that the U.S. and Iraq have both obtained more or less what they were aiming at via the crisis which began with the invasion. ..."

"The current crisis has amply demonstrated that Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates are incapable of guaranteeing regional security. In the future, it will therefore be difficult for them to refuse permanent American military bases. The recent decision of President Bush to send 100,000 additional troops to the Gulf should be interpreted in this perspective. More than simply assuring that the conflict will not get out of control, these additional troops can also be used as a bargaining chip at the right moment to negotiate 'withdrawals' of American forces in the region."

"It has already been decided that Iraq will retain control of the island of Bubiyan and the contested [Rumaila] petroleum field, that its external debt toward other Arab countries will be erased and that the new Kuwaiti state will accept a sort of 'Finlandization' in relation to Iraq."

Intelligence Newsletter editor Oliver Schmidt says that the source for this information is very reliable. In an interesting postscript, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak announced last week that he would not permit Egyptian soldiers to join a U.S. offensive action against Iraq but that a engagement limited to Kuwait would be acceptable.

**Ron Sable: ward boss or bust**

By Joel Bleifuss

"I was brought up believing that we all have a responsibility to make the world a better place," says Ron Sable. To that end, he has dedicated his life to curing the ailments of both the body corporal and the body politic.

In 1963, Ron Sable, age 17 and student body president of Westport (Kansas City) High School gave a speech to his graduating class about school integration. As a two-term president of Kappa Sigma fraternity at the University of Kansas, Sable tried to change the fraternity's "black ball" system that kept out blacks. When his efforts failed, he resigned.

Upon graduation from KU with a bachelor's degree in art history, Sable was drafted into the Army. He served as a medic for two years, one of those in Vietnam. Back home, Sable worked in Kansas City as a bricklayer, took pre-med classes and dedicated his political life to Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In 1972 he entered the University of Missouri at Columbia Medical School. There his political interests were directed at the Medical Committee for Human Rights, which at the time was dealing with sexism in the medical school.

Leaving mid-Missouri in 1976, he began a medical residency at Cook County Hospital, Chicago's beleaguered public hospital. There he remains to this day, caring for those society cares for least.

He could be on the road to sainthood. But Sable was raised on the social gospel of the Methodists. For the moment the only mantle he is interested in wearing is that of Chicago alderman. To that unholy end he is trying, for the second time, to unseat 44th Ward machine hack Bernie Hansen. It stands to be a long campaign. "I've been running since the day after the last election," says Sable. In February 1987, he lost to Hansen by 1,600 votes.

As Sable heads for the February 26, 1991, election, his liberal resume should serve him well in the trendy North Side neighborhood of Lakeview.

But these credentials are mitigated by the fact that he is gay.

According to Citizens for Sable surveys, 10 percent of the 44th Ward voters will not vote for him simply because of his sexual preference. Conversely, he has solid support from the ward's gay and lesbian community, which makes up 25 percent of the electorate. The challenge for Sable is not to overcome homophobia but to convince the other 65 percent of the voters that he would represent their interests as alderman. Voter surveys indicate that he could have done a better job at getting that message across during his last campaign. This time around Sable says he will directly address people's concerns that he is a single-issue candidate representing a single constituency.

There are other changes in the offing. The orange and not-quite lavender campaign colors of 1987 have been replaced by a regal blue. ("We call it 'teal,'" confides one campaign staffer.) In this campaign's official photographs, the toothy Sable grin of 1987 will be replaced by an image that will be serious but approachable.

In 1987, Sable lost support in some neighborhoods by insisting that local industries should be encouraged to remain in order to preserve jobs. With a sheepish smile, Sable now says that in 1991 he will not make an issue of the cluster of small poultry-processing plants that are on their way to being zoned out of what is now an upscale residential neighborhood. The workers who cut up the chickens once lived in that neighborhood, but that was before the influx of hipsters, who in the last four years have in turn been supplanted by downtown suits with uptown incomes.

Some of those voters displaced by the gentrification have moved west. This has added a liberal leaven to the white-bread ethnic enclaves that in 1987 gave Alderman Hansen the bulk of his support. It will now be harder for Hansen's forces to start whispering campaigns in these neighborhoods, like

the quiet talk in 1987 that Sable backers were going to infect the ward with AIDS.

The Citizens for Sable 1991 campaign slogan reads, "Dr. Ron Sable: Serving the public interest, serving you." Which raises the obvious question: whose interests is Alderman Hansen serving? "The special interests," answers campaign director Jeanne Ritter. "Bernie's serving special interests, like his political cronies." She mentions the 400 Lakeview parking permits Hansen gave to two Democratic colleagues. Those stickers protect cars parked on the street from getting towed during Cubs games. The stickers were to be issued only to people who live in the Wrigley Field neighborhood.

Conflicting interests: Ritter also raises questions about the propriety of Hansen chairing the city's Economic Development Committee and at the same time continuing to deal in real estate.

Hansen is a realtor and, as such, has the vulnerabilities that come with the turf. For example, when *Chicago* magazine ran an article on notorious property owner Lou Wolf under the cover-story headline "Chicago's worst landlord: How this man can ruin your neighborhood," author David Jackson balanced out Wolf's crimes by turning to Hansen for a positive appraisal. "I don't have problems with him," said Hansen. "He's a very nice, congenial 'yea, yea, yea' kind of guy." Wolf is also the kind of guy whose various incorporated subsidiaries regularly contribute to the Hansen war chest.

One of the issues Sable says he is going to talk about in the upcoming election is uncontrolled real-estate development. The campaign will focus on "planning in the broader sense," which Sable says will contrast with Hansen's view that "political leadership means meeting in rooms with two or three of the biggest developers." Adds Sable, "There is too much development where there is no community input."

Hansen has adapted himself to the ward. He actively courts the gay and lesbian vote. He rides in the annual Gay Pride Week parade. He sponsored the Human Rights Ordinance that, among other things, for the first time outlawed discrimination on the basis of sexual preference.

Sable argues that Hansen had no choice, that he shouldn't be given credit for doing something it would be political suicide not to do.

"We deserve better," says Sable. The phrase has the ring of a workable slogan. The "we" is both sufficiently inclusive and at the same time necessarily exclusive. For while Sable knows he must win straight votes by his stand on the issues, he is also banking on support from Chicago's gay community. In 1987 Sable raised \$140,000 for his campaign. This year he plans to spend \$200,000. And if this race is like the last one, 600 supporters will be hitting the streets on his behalf.

Sable may fudge a little on this issue or skirt that issue, all in the interest of electability. But whatever the prevailing fashion, compromising his politics is not part of his character. This is a man who still drives a 1967 Pontiac and sports political ideals of the same vintage.

A different struggle: Back then, he argued against racial segregation as well as U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. And when he first suffered discrimination due to his sexual preference, Sable fought that as well.

"As with many people, my political world grows out of my personal experience and the experience of people close to me," he says. "When I came out in 1974, I learned what it means to be a despised minority."

Following the 1987 election, Sable and some of his political colleagues founded the political action committee IMPACT. True to its name, the group's 1988 annual dinner raised \$70,000 and was attended by 500 people, including three 1989 mayoral candidates. That same year IMPACT underwrote a gay

and lesbian voter-registration drive that registered 18,000 new supportive voters.

Things do change. As late as 1986, "progressive" Democrats in the 44th Ward were debating the wisdom of allowing an openly gay man to speak at a Democratic forum that Mayor Harold Washington was scheduled to attend. During the 1990 Gay Pride Week, Mayor Richard Daley marched down Broadway with several heavily accessorized contingents from gay and lesbian subcultures.

Other things never change. Though Sable spends his private and political life in neighborhoods of the well-heeled along Lake Michigan, he has for the past 14 years spent his workdays caring for those people that greater society steps over—the poor and the uninsured. These days many of the people he works with have AIDS.

"I've devoted a lot of attention to this problem, both as a doctor and a community leader, because it has differentially affected the gay and lesbian community and because it has profoundly impacted the community where I work," says Sable. "AIDS is a unique health problem in being new and mysterious, in being serious if not fatal and therefore fearsome, and in arising in the U.S. in groups that are socially stigmatized or neglected—gay men and drug users."

In 1984 Sable and a colleague at Cook County co-founded an AIDS clinic—the Human Retroviral Disease (HRD) Clinic. Of the patients he sees, 70 percent are African-American, 20 percent Hispanic and 10 percent Euro-American. For many of Sable's patients, AIDS is only one problem they face. Another, says Sable, is the "unconceivable discrimination that comes with it—people being fired, people being abandoned by friends and family, people dumped by practitioners who don't want to take care of them."

On the job: The HRD Clinic is in an out-of-the-way corner of Cook County Hospital. It has its own waiting room, its own entrance. It is always busy.

A young man arrives with his mother. She took the day off work to accompany him to the clinic. Since he left the hospital two months ago, the patient has neither taken his medicine nor kept his clinic appointments. He is writhing in pain. When Sable scolds the man, he tries to keep his temper even. "It is really necessary to see you on a regular basis," Sable says and begins to fill in the man's chart and write a prescription. The mother turns to her son and asks in a low voice, "Why?"

Sable's patients come and go. A few seem to have their lives together; the lives of others appear to be falling apart. One patient asks for answers to a list of detailed medical questions; another is drunk, asking for painkillers for the puss that oozes from his ears.

Sable sees one clinic patient after another. Then he disappears for a while and returns to the examining room with a frail man of indeterminate age with sunken eyes. It's 4:30 p.m. Sable had seen the man that morning and sent him upstairs to get chest X-rays. The man had waited there for more than three hours. Something in radiology had screwed up. Sable is visibly angry.

"There are a lot more frustrations associated with the fact that this institution doesn't work the way it should, than the fact of taking care of sick people," he says. "What drives me crazy is the inability to get the system to respond." Sable does not think his patient was being discriminated against because he has AIDS. Mistreatment at this sparsely funded public hospital is, he says, indiscriminate. Still, he is there by choice.

"Coming here regularly helps remind me concretely of the problems that many people are dealing with in the world. It's a reality check. It's frustrating, but it also motivates me to work for the kinds of changes that would correct these problems."

Save our jobs

Of course, in addition to establishing an American presence in the Gulf, the war-to-be-or-not-to-be is turning out to be the saving grace for the generals who control the armed forces, the CEOs who run the weapons industry and the foreign and military policy experts who guide presidents. A post-Cold War world without major military confrontations would have cut all three elites out of the power loop. As Michael Klare documents in *The Nation*, the military-industrial complex and its lobby of maleducated experts were not going to let this happen. Hence the current charade. For example, Army Chief of Staff Gen. Carl Vuono wrote last April in *Sea Power* magazine, "Because the U.S. is a global power with vital interests that must be protected throughout an increasingly turbulent world, we must look beyond the European continent and consider other threats to our national security. Regional rivalries supported by powerful armies have resulted in brutal and devastating conflicts in the Third World. ... The proliferation of advanced military capabilities has given an increasing number of countries in the developing world the ability to wage sustained, mechanized land warfare. The U.S. cannot ignore the expanding military power of these countries, and the Army must retain the capability to defeat potential threats wherever they occur. *This could mean confronting a well-equipped army in the Third World.*" (Emphasis added.)

Propaganda as history

In his above-mentioned *Nation* article, Klare draws a parallel between U.S. intentions during the Korean War and the current Gulf excursion. He writes, "For those familiar with the post-war era, this seizure of a purely temporal, local crisis to implement a previously devised, long-term strategy will seem uncannily like the sequence of events occasioned by the outbreak of the Korean War." Another similarity between the Korean War and the Gulf intervention is that in both cases propagandists were enlisted to support the cause. The latest agent—tool, if one is to be kind—in the obfuscation of reality is Austin Hoyt of WGBH/Boston.

Hoyt was the executive producer of the public television series *Korea: The Unknown War*. The project historian was Bruce Cummings, a professor of East Asian history at the University of Chicago. Last week Cummings in an open letter charged that, before it was aired, Hoyt revised the documentary to conform to the official U.S. history of the war.

Cummings wrote, in part: "Austin Hoyt made crucial revisions to the film which ... involve historical lessons of the Korean War that bear directly on the current conflict in the Gulf and American strategies for fighting a war against the Iraqi army. ... Time and again WGBH added commentary by two principle authors of U.S. policy in 1950, Paul Nitze and Dean Rusk: not because they were right but because they were safe.

"Korea was the crisis which pushed through a tripling of defense expenditures and activated a military-industrial complex feeding mightily on tax dollars. ... The operative document [behind this buildup] was the famous 'NSC68' [a secret strategy document prepared by Nitze in 1950]. WGBH added misleading commentary and an interview with Paul Nitze. ... The entire significance of this crucial episode was lost, along with the lesson that this Pentagon perpetual-motion machine, in place for 40 years, now is happily establishing another containment bulwark in the volatile Middle East and taking the 'peace dividend' with it. [Cummings details a few other of WGBH's ahistorical revisions.]

"Some of the changes mentioned above, and many more, were done to appease Gen. Richard Stilwell, an accomplished covert operator and a friend of many South Korean generals, who was Far East chief for the CIA's covert arm in 1950. Under pressure from Reed Irvine's *Accuracy in Media*, Austin Hoyt vetted our film for 'accuracy' through Mr. Stilwell. ... Jon Halliday and I protested this mightily and for our efforts were declared to be 'outsiders' to the film project by WGBH. The Soviets are excavating one episode after another from their Cold War history. It seems impossible to do the same here in the U.S."

Straight from the whore's mouth

One sector of the economy is not in a recession: the war industry. In September, representatives from 247 Wisconsin companies gathered in the Grand Milwaukee Hotel to try to hook into the military-industrial complex. The two-day event, titled the "Fifth Annual Defense Contracting Workshop," was sponsored by the appropriately named Aspin Procurement Institute. (Rep. Les Aspin [D-WI] chairs the House Armed Services Committee.) Addressing the assembled camp followers, Procurement Institute Co-chairman Jim Roberts opened the meeting with the words: "Thank you, Saddam Hussein." The crowd cheered.

Church meets state

Texas politics took a down-home turn this month as 10,000 people gathered for the founding convention of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) network. The IAF, a non-partisan group of diverse religious organizations, aims to work for social reform and "teach people how to be involved in public life" by creating a "political voice" for families and congregations. During the pre-election convention many political candidates, including Democratic governor-elect Ann Richards, pledged to work closely with the network. Her opponent, Clayton Williams, however, refused to make such a commitment. No doubt the subsequent boos he received echoed in the ballot box and in his ears on November 6.

Another reason to cheer

Western Massachusetts' None of the Above (NOTA) write-in campaign has been declared a success (see "In Short," Oct. 31). The greatest number of NOTA ballots were predictably cast in the governor's race, which pitted "Democrat in Republican pinstripes" John Silber against traditional conservative William Weld. Weld won the race, but NOTA picked up as much as 8.6 percent of the vote in Northampton, the largest town in the region. While the Pioneer Valley Pro-Democracy Campaign targeted only six towns with its symbolic strategy, NOTA votes were reported by election clerks throughout New England. This is one campaign that didn't end on election day, reports Thomas Anderson: legislation to place the NOTA option on the ballot as a binding alternative to the two-party state will soon be introduced in the Massachusetts legislature. That way, if NOTA picked up more votes than any candidate in a given election, a new election would have to be called with a fresh batch of candidates.

From Vietnam, with love

Inspired by a march against Mideast intervention in New York on October 20 (see "Etc.," Oct. 31), anti-war veterans are making a conscious effort to support conscientious objectors. Broken Rifle Press has established a Fund for Conscience and Resistance to provide GIs who refuse to fight in the Persian Gulf with copies of *Days of Decision*, an oral history of conscientious objectors during the Vietnam War. Donations can be sent to P.O. Box 749, Trenton, NJ 08607.

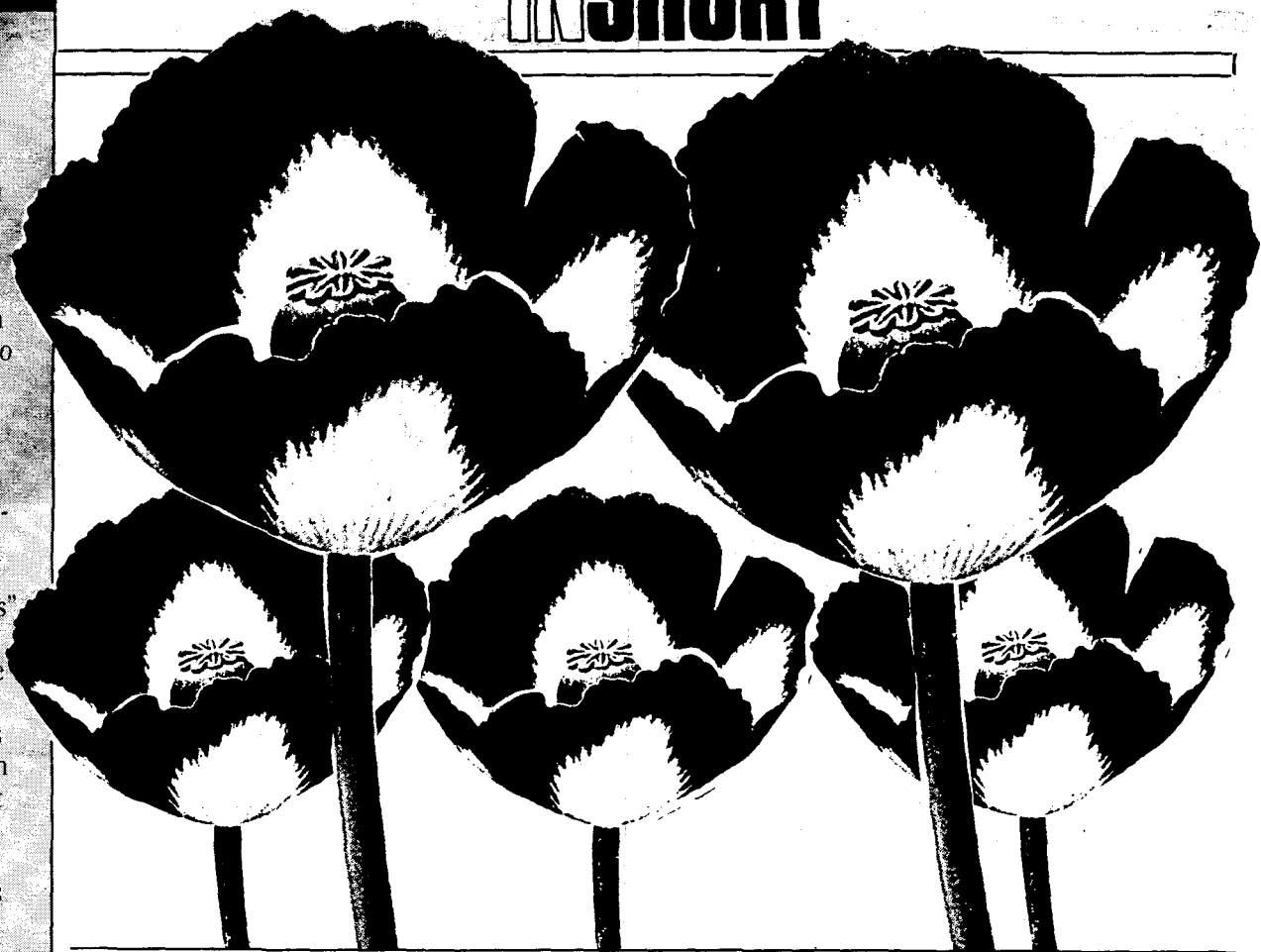
Reading, writing and right-winging

Michigan's Hillsdale College, a little-known right-wing campus, is out to establish itself as the academic center of conservative intellectual thought, reports Margaret Quigley. President George Roche recently hosted a Boston reception to publicize Hillsdale's Freedom Quest Fund, a 150th anniversary capital and endowment campaign to raise \$151 million by 1994. In his latest book, *One By One: Preserving Values and Freedom in Heartland America*, Roche describes Hillsdale's battle against tomorrow's enemies of the moral order such as "the Greens instead of the Reds" and the "New Agers" who attack "what is normal and morally healthy in favor of things everyone has always regarded as perverse." Hillsdale's promotional videotape, "Ideas Have Consequences," features endorsements from political luminaries Jeane Kirkpatrick and William F. Buckley Jr., and the college's board of trustees includes Jeffrey Coors and James Quayle (Dan's dad). Even Ronald Reagan agrees that "Hillsdale deserves the appreciation of all who labor for freedom."

Doctor who?

Global concern about the toxicity of pesticides could be just a lot of hype, chirps the newsletter of the Washington Poison Network. Last year, the Washington legislature passed the Pesticide Incident Reporting and Tracking (PIRT) project, charging state agencies with investigating and reporting the outcomes of pesticide-related accidents or illnesses. On the subject of physicians' responsibilities concerning PIRT, the network's medical director writes: "Remember... society's concern about synthetic pesticides may be somewhat out of proportion for many reasons, including 'media hype'... To date, no objective evidence of any physical consequences whatsoever have been detected pursuant to the Love Canal fiasco, and the dioxins are turning out to be far less toxic than predicted—if they are toxic at all. Nonetheless, try to be prepared."

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Kira Jones, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.



Legendary Burma drug lord tough to bump

CHIANG MAI PROVINCE, THAILAND—Khun Sa, otherwise known as the Prince of Death, who controls 60 percent of the opium and heroin traffic in the Golden Triangle from his tiny kingdom in Burma's Shan state, is looking for a few new friends.

Recently, the legendary drug lord has been under attack on all fronts. The Thai army has destroyed several of his "jungle kitchens" used to cook heroin. His war with the rival Wa state army has intensified in Shan state. A New York court has indicted him on drug-trafficking charges. Agents for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) would love to get their mitts on him. And now, after years of cooperating with an unsavory Burmese regime, Khun Sa is rumored to be at the top of its hit list.

If the latter is true, some observers say, it would be only as a sop to Western media to improve the international image of Burma, now known as Myanmar. Meanwhile, the financially strapped country—not wishing to give up its lucrative drug trade—is already reported to have groomed an heir apparent, Lo Hsing Han, another longtime trafficker.

But if you think this has put a dent in Khun Sa's nefarious operations, think again. In a recent *Bangkok Post* interview from his tidy mountain headquarters barely 10 kilometers from the Thai border, Khun Sa (a.k.a. Chiang Chi Fu) laughed when a reporter asked about the recent attacks. "These are only stories for the newspapers so people will think something is being done about narcotics," he said.

But Khun Sa appears to have taken the attacks seriously enough to surround himself with six heavily armed

body guards. And recently he's allowed a select number of reporters to make the arduous 12-hour mule ride to his not-so-secret village encampment so he can tell his story.

Reporters complain, however, that he never answers questions about his involvement with narcotics, preferring to talk at length about his longstanding offer to the U.S. to clean up drug trafficking in the Golden Triangle. Since 1976, Khun Sa has said he would eliminate opium in Shan state within seven years for a cool \$300 million. So far, no takers.

The Golden Triangle is a vast area—about 150,000 square miles—encompassing verdant hills and rugged mountainous terrain stretching from Burma's northern Kachin state east through Laos to the Vietnamese border and south to Thailand's northwestern provincial capital of Chiang Mai.

It is high in these remote mountains that various tribal groups—the Hmong, Meo Lisu, Lahu and Akha, among others—have traditionally grown the opium poppy. During harvest season, each bulb is scarred by hand with a small curved knife, releasing a milky sap that dries and turns brown. The opium is then ready to be processed into heroin.

Burma leads the region in production by far with an estimated 2,500 tons of opium last year. Laos produced 600 to 700 tons, mostly in the eastern provinces, while Thailand managed a modest 30 tons. Compared to the '60s regional total of 1,000 tons, it's not difficult to see how the Golden Triangle got its name.

Khun Sa, along with an officer elite comprised of former Kuomintang soldiers, commands a force of nearly 20,000 young Shan and Chinese Haw soldiers and a militia of 5,000. They claim to be revolutionaries, not opium traffickers, fighting to liberate Shan state from an oppressive Bur-

mese government. They boast of a constitution modeled after that of the U.S. and claim more than 2 million followers among Shan state's 8 million people.

"Heroin production is not my business," Khun Sa was reported as saying. But he does admit to taxing traders who ship high-quality heroin—almost 99 percent pure—through his territory.

He says the taxes are used to finance revolutionary activities, build schools and health centers and assist poor Shan farmers. "The DEA will never be able to stop the narcotics traffic," said one of Khun Sa's lieutenants, "not in a hundred years."

Some in Washington, D.C., agree. A congressional subcommittee on narcotics control has been debating the effectiveness of the DEA approach. As the argument goes, what good does it do to get rid of drug kingpin Khun Sa when there will always be someone to take his place?

Critics of the DEA say that more effort should be made to nab the "big guys" who make millions controlling the drug trade while living "respectable" lives in Bangkok, Hong Kong, Marseille and New York. "It should be kept in mind," said Bertil Lintner, a journalist who has followed Burmese politics and narcotics questions for 12 years, "the farmers who grow opium make no money. It's the international dealers who get the richest."

Meanwhile, Khun Sa is protecting his back. He reportedly has taken out a life-insurance policy with a unique difference. He's included with it a list of names of all the individuals he has dealt with over the years and has threatened to expose them if he were to suffer any harm. Prior planning has always been one of Khun Sa's strong suits, which helps to explain why the Golden Triangle is still golden.

—Tony Gillotte

Brazil votes not to defend the rainforest

By Ken Silverstein

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

THE FINAL BALLOTS HAVE JUST BEEN COUNTED from Brazil's October 3 congressional and gubernatorial elections, and the general consensus is that conservatives are the big winners. So far, no one seems to have noticed that among the biggest losers were the Amazon rainforest and its defenders.

Right-wing candidates ran strong nationwide in the first elections since conservative Fernando Collor de Mello edged out socialist Luis Inacio Lula da Silva in last December's presidential race. Collor, the first freely elected president in almost three decades, replaced civilian Jose Sarney, who came to power following an electoral college vote strongly influenced by the 1964-85 military dictatorship. Sarney allowed the military to retain almost complete control of Amazon policy, and little progress toward preserving the remaining rainforest was made during his tenure.

It was during the military's reign that wide-scale destruction of the Amazon began, as the generals set out to open up the region to large multinational and domestic business interests. Thousands of miles of roads were built, and billions of dollars in fiscal incentives and subsidies were doled out to private investors.

Especially favored by the dictatorship were ranching projects designed to turn the region into a huge beef exporter. That dream ended in failure—the Amazon basin still must import beef to meet local needs—while the rainforest was set ablaze to clear land for grazing. Mining and logging companies also cut huge swathes through the forest, and speculation fueled by soaring land prices led to violence against poor peasant farmers by wealthy newcomers.

Blackened greens: Rightist politics have long dominated the Amazon region, one of the poorest and most isolated in all Brazil. Their success is largely based on the support of major landowners who have long controlled the votes of the rural poor.

Traditionally, conservatives used straightforward methods to win their way into office: on election day, half of a bank note or one shoe would be delivered to voters. The other half was turned over if ballot-box results proved favorable. While payoff techniques have generally become more sophisticated, goods and services are still routinely swapped in exchange for political support.

"Almost all the region's new elected officials are totally opposed to ecological concerns and rational development," says Fernando Gabiera, president of Brazil's small Green Party, who termed the election results "a disaster" for the rainforest. Slash-and-burn techniques used by ranchers and farmers have already destroyed about 6 percent of the 2 million-square-mile wilderness. The swath of blackened land is roughly equal in size to the state of California.

Prospects for protection of the Amazon have only slightly improved since the generals stepped down. This was evident in the October vote, in which all 27 governorships, 31 chairs in the 81-seat senate and all 503 spots in the lower congress were up for grabs. Anti-ecology conservatives showed overwhelming strength in the nine states of the "Legal Amazon," where they won outright victories in three gubernatorial races and

were headed to November 25 runoffs in the other six. Only in the two small states of Acre and Amapa, where candidates from the socialist Workers Party (PT) won spots in runoffs, do pro-environmentalists have even a shot at winning office. (See accompanying story.) Rightists also swept Amazon congressional races, winning at least 12 of the 13 senate chairs up for grabs and all but a handful of house seats.

Paradise lost: Many of the region's voters view the efforts of environmentalists as an attempt to turn the rainforest into a live Disneyland, blocking economic growth and locking the region into perennial backwardness. A recent report of the major Rio daily *Jornal do Brasil* points out the great difference between the "real Amazon" and the Amazon of many First World environmentalists, who tend to see the region as a sort of Paradise Lost that must be fully preserved.

Overlooked has been the region's widespread poverty, which helps account for a male life expectancy of 42 years. "The level of perception of the Amazon's people is still tied exclusively to survival ... and will remain that way until the fish [and other resources] really begin to disappear," Roberto Viera, president of the Brazilian Institute of Law and Environmental Policy, told the newspaper. "For now, the fires in the Amazon still haven't reached people's backyards."

Gilberto Mestrinho, the new governor of Amazonas, Brazil's largest state, has perhaps the most rabidly anti-ecological views of October's electoral winners. A supporter of large-scale development projects, Mestrinho holds the original—and thoroughly outrageous—view that the Amazon is self-destructing and should be leveled forthwith, before nature itself does the job. "The center of ecology is man, and I will be the governor of men and not of the forest and animals," he repeatedly told crowds on the campaign trail.

Amazonas' new senator, Amazonino Men-

des, is another anti-ecology extremist. He once proposed handing out chain saws to settlers to speed the felling of the forest.

In the neighboring state of Roraima, both gubernatorial finalists have openly opposed the federal government's announced plans to remove thousands of miners from the territory of the Yanomami Indians, the world's largest remaining primitive tribe. Imported diseases and armed clashes with the miners, who illegally search for gold, diamonds and other minerals on Yanomami land, have killed

"Almost all the region's new elected officials are totally opposed to ecological concerns and rational development," says Fernando Gabiera, president of Brazil's small Green Party, who terms the election results a "disaster" for the rainforest.

some 1,500 of the tribe's remaining 9,000 members in the past three years.

The favorite in Roraima is Romero Juca, presently on trial for illegally authorizing logging on native land between 1986 and 1988, when he headed the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). Juca, who has been accused of flagrant corruption, also allowed miners to overrun indigenous territory during his tenure at the foundation. The miners have dumped an estimated 600 tons of mercury—used in gold prospecting—into the

Tapajos River, one of the Amazon's largest waterways.

Juca's opponent in the runoff, Otomar Pinto, is a former military man who has also demonstrated no interest in environmental or native problems. "The elections in Roraima could spell the end for the Yanomami," says

ENVIRONMENT

political scientist David Fleischer of the University of Brasilia.

Equally disturbing is the situation in the huge state of Para, which has one of the region's highest rates of deforestation and has been the site of repeated clashes between miners and several major Indian tribes. Para's runoff opponents, Jader Barbalho and Sahid Xerfan, are bitter foes, responsible for perhaps the country's dirtiest first-round campaign. The antipathy is purely personal—both candidates are traditional populists. "We have no preference in Para," says Green Party leader Gabeira. "Neither possible winner will defend the Indians or the Amazon."

Bloody harvest: A final concern is that most of the newly elected officials are supported by the large landowners who are responsible for most prior destruction of the rainforest. Major farmers are also behind the violence that has plagued the region in the past decade, when over a thousand peasants were murdered in land conflicts.

The bloodiest battles have been waged in the "Parrot's Beak" area of the southeast Amazon, where the Maranhão, Tocantins and Para states meet. Ricardo Resende, a priest who works in the region with the Catholic Church-linked Pastoral Land Commission, says the region's new officeholders have "never demonstrated any interest in protecting the region's poor" and will continue to expell peasant farmers from their land. Though the Parrot's Beak has been relatively quiet in the past year, Resende fears an upturn in violence; drought in the neighboring northeast and increased unemployment in

Continued on page 10

Brazil's left: in the anti-capitalist dark and on the defensive

While the Workers Party (PT), the main radical opposition group, appears to have doubled its congressional seats to about 35, its overall results were disappointing. After PT presidential candidate Luis Inacio da Silva—known as "Lula"—won 31 million votes last December, party leaders hoped to elect 50 members to congress. Even worse, the PT's gubernatorial candidates did badly in almost all major states. In São Paulo, where the party was born a decade ago after a series of huge labor strikes led by Lula rocked the dictatorship, the PT's Plinio Arruda Sampaio finished a poor fourth.

The Democratic Labor Party (PDT) emerged from the elections in a slightly stronger position. Led by populist Leonel Brizola, one of two governors to send out state militias to oppose the 1964 coup, the PDT upped its number of congressional seats from 38 to about 50. Brizola himself romped to a first-round win in Rio de Janeiro, and the party has a shot at at least three more governorships in November's runoffs.

Overall, the left's bank in congress grew from 72 to about 100, where it will have a solid but clearly minority position. Socialists have, in fact, been on the defensive

in Brazil. They have largely failed to present alternatives to Collor's policies, and widespread complaints about economic austerity measures have not been channeled into political opposition. The most obvious example of the left's disorganization is the near-complete inertia of the "parallel government," set up by the PT early this year to "monitor" the Collor administration and present alternative policy options to those decreed by the government. Now, almost nine months after the new president's inauguration, the parallel government has yet to release an economic program.

That failure results from a number of factors, the most obvious one being that faced by the left in many parts of the world: the need to construct an anti-capitalist alternative in the midst of the collapse of communism.

While the PT never backed the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe, it has suffered from the aftershocks of their fall. As one observer recently wrote in explaining the party's disappointing electoral performance, the PT has been unable to "present a coherent vision of the world or, more immediately, an alternative to the Collor Plan."

With the left in disarray and voting mandatory, casting blank ballots was the most popular form of protest in October. Such ballots totaled as high as 50 percent in some states and averaged about 35 percent, an all-time record. The figures showed a frustration with the severe economic problems that accompanied the return of civilian rule in 1985, says University of Brasilia political scientist David Fleischer. "You vote and vote and vote, and nothing changes. Prices are still high, and salaries are still low."

These trends are likely to continue, at least for the short term. Inflation shows no signs of quickly ceding, and recession is spreading throughout the economy. Most economists say Brazil is following in the footsteps of other Latin American countries that have embarked on International Monetary Fund-style "shock" plans to control high inflation; a slow battle to bring down the cost of living and an extended period of economic stagnation. For the PT and other leftist parties, criticizing Collor is not enough.

During the next few years, they must show voters they know what to do with power.

-K.S

By Paul Hockenos

SKOPJE, YUGOSLAVIA

FLASHING BLUE LIGHTS ILLUMINATE THE night roadblock on the mountain pass. The military sentry inspects license plates and peers in through lowered windows. The lights flicker off the acrylic red star on his cap, a striking anomaly in today's Eastern Europe. He steps back and waves the passing cars on to Skopje, the capital of Yugoslavia's southernmost republic of Macedonia.

For years Yugoslavia was the black sheep of the communist countries, defiant of Moscow in its liberal political and economic reforms. Today, the democratization process lags conspicuously behind that of other East bloc countries. Road blocks are common in the south, political prisoners remain in jail and the secret police operate as before. But republic by republic, election by election, a transformation of post-Cold War Yugoslavia is unfolding. Elections earlier this year in the northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia and earlier this month in Macedonia will be followed by upcoming votes in the other three republics. As the diverse populations cast off the centralized, federal mantle that has bound them for four decades, the future shape of the multinational state is as uncertain as ever.

In the rugged West Balkan republic between Albania, Bulgaria and Greece, the first round of voting on November 11 added to the complex picture of Yugoslavia's emerging political constellations. The sleepy little republic has made it plain that it will no longer serve as the submissive partner of Serbia—its powerful northern neighbor.

The demise of communism also has

Communism's black sheep pulls wool over its own eyes

opened the door for Macedonia to assert its national identity. But the nationalist awakening confronts the impoverished republic of 1.3 million people with its own unique problems. The vigorous turnout of the 400,000- to 500,000-strong ethnic Albanian minority is certain to stir passions at home as well as next door in the 90-percent Albanian region of Kosovo, Serbia's volatile southern province. Yet the Macedonian majority has bucked the nationalist trend in Yugoslavia, giving new hope to a redefined federation of the six republics.

Young, not restless: The democratic process in Macedonia is still young. On election day, giant color posters of the reformed communist party stood uncontested on the dilapidated space-age cement buildings that rise from the surrounding slums. The party-published newspaper, *New Macedonia*, is virtually alone among the tiny kiosks' TV and soft-porn magazines. At a party-sponsored rally in Marshal Tito Square, only the city's top heavy-metal band brought the younger generation to its feet. A 15-foot-high yellow star with a rose emblazoned across it, the symbol of the party's new image, glowed next to the stage.

Of the 120 parliamentary seats up for grabs, only a handful were decided in the first round of elections. The vast majority of remaining seats will be contested November 25 between the front runners and likely co-

alition partners, the reform communist party and the Alliance of Reform Forces (ARF). The Macedonia vote marked the impressive debut of the ARF, brainchild of the charismatic Yugoslav federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic. Founded only a month ago, the party is the political arm of Markovic's ambitious free-market reforms, which, until this fall, had stopped galloping inflation cold. Federal proponents see the party as a last-ditch effort to prevent the country's breakup.

"Something had to be done," says Grado Sumkovski of the birth of the ARF. "The nationalist fragmentation has jeopardized the economic program that is the key to the country's renewal." The intrarepublic trade war has rendered Markovic incapable of pushing through his radical austerity plan—inflation jumped to 8 percent in September. "The federal government has the power de-

YUGOSLAVIA

jure, but not de facto," Markovic says. "Only an all-Yugoslav consensus can get the economy back on its feet."

After the nationalist victories in Slovenia and Croatia, the Macedonia vote was the first sign that a new federal alternative might be popular in Yugoslavia. The ARF's *raison d'être* appeals to many who are uneasy with the political and economic implications of the nationalist fervor. The Markovic party calls for an all-Yugoslav defense concept and common economic and foreign policies. "We're convinced that most people in Slovenia also know that we must live together," explains Sumkovski. "It can only be so. No single republic can make its way to Europe alone." The ARF insists that new all-Yugoslav elections be held next year.

The reformed communist party will also play a major role in the next government. The new face of the Macedonian League of Communists, now the Party of Democratic

window displays the campaign posters of the Albanian party, the Party of Democratic Prosperity (PDP). A noisy stream of men wearing white lace Albanian hats shuffles between the unheated one-room PDP office and the coffeehouse next door.

The ethnic Albanians see their vote as a chance finally to gain full cultural and human rights for the 30 to 35 percent Albanian population in Macedonia, as well as for the republic's Turkish, Bulgarian and Moslem minorities. Ethnic tension between Albanians and Macedonians has escalated over the last three years. The region's grinding poverty and Skopje's heavy-handed ethnic policies have only aggravated the situation, fueling extremists on both sides. Last year, for example, the definition of Macedonia as "a state of Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish minorities" was changed to "a nation-state of Macedonian people." The rationale: to "strengthen the national integrity of the Macedonian people."

Only a handful of Albanian schools exist in predominantly Albanian western Macedonia. Albanian dwellings have been bulldozed, women sterilized against their wills, children imprisoned. "Not a single Albanian newspaper is available in all of Yugoslavia," says PDP President Nevzat Halili. Until this year, street protests were met with crackdowns and heightened repression.

"This is finally our chance," said Halili before the election. "We want to solve this problem peacefully and democratically. But if the situation worsens," he warns, "we will find other ways. Ones we never wanted."

The Albanian rank and file are more explicit. So many bridges have been burned that many hold no hope of political life in a democratic Yugoslavia. "The Berlin Wall fell; now ours must fall," says one man. "Of course we want a Greater Albania." In Kosovo, too, many see the only way out as an Albanian state joining western Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania.

Volatile votes: The Albanians' electoral success has enraged Macedonian nationalists, who placed well behind the PDP. All of the non-Albanian parties charged that massive fraud occurred in the Albanian districts and that votes in at least six districts would have to be recast, while international observers claim the election went off more or less fairly. In protest, five nationalist groups say they will boycott the second round.

But despite their lackluster finishes, the nationalist parties' open anti-Albanian rhetoric provides them with fertile ground to build upon. The Movement for All-Macedonian Action calls for the expulsion of all ethnic minorities from Macedonian territory. The nationalists also play heavily on the persecution of the 300,000 Macedonian in Bulgaria and 200,000 in Greece who aren't even recognized as ethnic minorities.

Nothing less than Greater Macedonia is the goal of the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which captured at least one spot in the second-round runoff. Its members imprisoned under the communists, the historical militant group has surfaced again with its pre-war program intact. IMRO has found a sympathetic ear in rural districts, especially among the youth. The walls of their headquarters outside Skopje are decorated with once-banned maps of Greater Macedonia that incorporate large chunks of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Greece, Montenegro and Turkey.

First founded in 1883, the organization insists that Macedonians must right the

Continued on page 22

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By David R. Dye

GUATEMALA CITY, GUATEMALA

WHEN OUTGOING PRESIDENT VINICIO Cerezo was elected in 1985 after 15 years of military rule, he promised to work to perfect democracy in this least democratic of Central American countries. Five years later, he is about to hand the sash over to an elected civilian successor, one of the few such transfers in Guatemala's history. Along with the clean vote count in both elections, this tidbit of democratic change is not to be sneered at.

ELECTIONS

The "democracy" inaugurated by Cerezo, however, suffers from grave defects. Military autonomy from the civilian president, entrenched by 30 years of nearly unbroken counterinsurgency, is the heart of the problem. The most abusive aspect is a set of frankly totalitarian controls over parts of the rural populace, exercised by "civilian self-defense patrols" and military-controlled "model villages" created in the early '80s to fight "subversion." Over the years, these features of Guatemalan democracy have spawned massive and grievous violations of human rights.

Judging from the first round of Guatemala's two-stage election process, held November 11, little is likely to change over the next five years, during which another "freely elected" civilian will govern at least part of the Guatemalan state.

The glaring problems of Guatemalan society—an alarming increase in absolute poverty, exploitation and cultural denigration of the Indian majority, constant violations of political rights—have so far been non-themes in "Elections 1990." In addition, the election process has highlighted enduring features of the Guatemalan power structure that, although subject to certain revisions, are powerfully resistant to change.

Brave new Guatemala: In an election-day editorial in the newspaper *Siglo 21*, lawyer-sociologist Gabriel Aguilera likened the content of this year's campaign to the "newspeak" of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. "We Guatemalans learn that our real problems concern monetary and fiscal policy and the privatization of the state economic area," Aguilera said, commenting on the rhetoric of the candidates. Noting that "in our daily lives we perceive other urgencies," Aguilera concluded that the object of this issue-blitz is to substitute the "new Guatemala" for the real Guatemala in the minds of voters.

A cursory survey of the principal candidates' programs confirms the accuracy of Aguilera's judgment. The three main contenders, all right-wingers, espoused the neoliberal economic project the International Monetary Fund has made synonymous with "development" for Central America in the '80s: the recipe is privatization, small but efficient government and the promotion of non-traditional export products to foreign markets. This, plus careful avoidance of any tinkering with a horrendously unequal social structure through agrarian and tax reforms, made all acceptable to Guatemala's tiny, opulent oligarchy—but irrelevant to much of the remaining population.

No candidate won a majority in the first round of elections—only 40 percent of the voting-age population made it to the polls. Jorge Carpio Nicolle, publisher of the daily newspaper *El Gráfico* and candidate of the National Center Union, will face Jorge Ser-



The exploitation of Guatemala's Indian majority has so far been a non-theme in "Elections 1990."

In Guatemala, a tidbit of democratic change

rano Elías, an industrial engineer and head of the Solidarity Action Movement (MAS), in a January 6 runoff.

As a kind of garnish on his economic program, Carpio, 58, offers Guatemalans a thorough overhaul of their archaic and corrupt governmental structures, something few believe he or any other president can pull off. Though he is the leader after round one with 26 percent of the vote, Carpio is thought likely to lose in the end.

The favored Serrano, 45, is best known in Guatemala for his Christian fundamentalist beliefs and participation in the country's National Reconciliation Commission. The ill-defined ideology of his political movement, founded in 1985, is right-wing populist with religious undertones. Serrano rose meteorically in the polls during the last weeks of the campaign—calling to mind the Alberto Fujimori phenomenon in Peru—and is expected to pick up support from third- and fourth-place parties in the second round.

Why this dominance of right-wing candidates? With the violent repression of the left over the years, the "system" in Guatemala permits only a narrow range of options. "Our parties are mostly just political clubs from which the oligarchy chooses its candidates," says one Guatemalan journalist. "It is not an election but a selection." Another factor is popular disenchantment with Cerezo's Christian Democrats, who, corralled by the military and the elite, were forced to abandon early attempts at reforms and ended their administration in a sea of corruption and nepotism. In the end it again comes down to the ability of economic and military power to block any real alternatives.

The debacle of the Christian Democrats has had dramatic consequences. According to some statistics, the proportion of Guatemalans who live in absolute poverty has

risen from one-third in 1980 to two-thirds or more today. As Cerezo leaves office, only one-half of the country's primary school-aged children actually attend public schools, while more than 60 percent of Guatemalans remain illiterate. With figures like these, it's small wonder that many Guatemalans living in refugee camps in Mexico reportedly believe their lives will worsen if they return home.

Judging from the first round of Guatemala's two-stage election process, little is likely to change over the next five years.

As in El Salvador, then, centrist reformism in Guatemala has failed, paving the way for a resurgence of the right—the "new" Central American right of the '90s. Guatemala's elites may continue to thwart reform, but they now reject politicians tainted by excessive violence in favor of figures who, like El Salvador's Alfredo Cristiani, can be sold to the public. For this reason, say the country's political commentators, the 1990 elections have at least eclipsed the insanely anti-Communist remnants of the 1954 counterrevolution. The Guatemalan army, though sovereign in its own domain and immune from prosecution for its abuses, also seems firmly under the control of officers who swear fealty to the "democratic" system.

One dark figure from the past who was passed over this year bears mentioning. Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, the evangelist dictator

who designed Guatemala's model villages in 1982-83, made a determined bid to establish himself as a legal candidate and was briefly the contender most favored by Guatemalans who spoke with pollsters. Though Ríos' campaign caused coup jitters to reverberate around the country, his candidacy was eventually denied on the grounds that he had once come to power by force, which logically enough is "unconstitutional" in Brave New Guatemala.

What rights humans? Definitely not eclipsed is the legacy of disrespect for life left behind by decades of military rule. Shortly before the election, Americas Watch issued a statement warning that Guatemala is "in the grip of its worst human-rights crisis" since the onset of the Christian Democratic government. As in the past, the election claimed victims of politically inspired violence. Among them were anthropologist Mirna Mack, who was studying refugee problems, and journalist Héctor González, gunned down for motives that remain shrouded in the secrecy of the Guatemalan military state.

As always, the structural violence of the system continues to fall most heavily on the Indian peoples of Guatemala's highlands, who largely abstained from voting as this year's crop of candidates offered them nothing concrete. "In every election, the parties take advantage of the occasion to say, 'I'm going to end the violence,'" said Rosalina Tuyuc, leader of Guatemala's association of widows, "but a lot of people end up dead." Tuyuc knows about this brand of death: a Cakchiquel Indian, she lost her father, her husband and two brothers during the '80s.

Though potentially less brutal than its predecessor, the new Guatemalan right offers neither a better life nor basic security to people like Tuyuc. As a result, it will have to deal with a continuing low-level insurgency. Almost crushed in 1983, the guerrillas of the United Guatemalan National Resistance have made a slow comeback in recent years as the economic status of the majority has worsened. Though its call for vote abstention went largely unheeded, the resistance proved through propaganda and small-scale attacks, including one against a farm owned by Cerezo, that it was a force Elections 1990 could not ignore.

Over the course of the year, the guerrillas have held talks with Guatemala's political parties, unions, popular organizations and even the elite business sector, proposing a program for peace and democracy. Though the insurgents command only uncertain support from Guatemala's small civilian left, their demand speaks to the country's real political needs—the dismantling of Montt's model villages, guarantees for human rights and freedom of organization and respect for the integrity of the Indian majority. It is now up to the government and the army to decide if the talks will go further.

Perhaps Serrano, likely the next president, will prove skillful enough to keep his promise to negotiate peace with the insurgents in 1991. Such an accord would require a long, arduous process to overcome intense resistance from a military command over which Serrano will exercise only tenuous control. One thing is clear: only through the combined pressure of the guerrillas and the country's popular organizations will real democratic progress come to Guatemala. Only then will Elections 1990 end up contributing to the "democratic transition" Cerezo insists is his legacy. □

David R. Dye writes regularly from Central America for *In These Times*.

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Brazil

Continued from page 7

the industrialized south have brought a steady stream of newcomers to the area in recent months, fueling land disputes.

Most environmentalists are also suspicious of Collor, who claims to be a staunch defender of the rainforest but is closely allied with Amazon conservatives. While his administration's policies are generally considered to be an improvement over those of past governments, many believe he is more interested in public-relations coups than in bringing about substantive environmental changes.

In April and May, Collor ordered federal police officials to dynamite clandestine landing strips used by miners on Yanomami land in heavily hyped media events covered by numerous TV crews. When the cameras disappeared, the miners returned and rebuilt many of the bombed strips. "This government is good at pro-ecological rhetoric and

has even accepted that the protection of the Amazon is a legitimate global concern," Fabio Feldman, a representative of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party, was recently quoted as saying. "But in real terms, Collor has done nothing. ... He's all talk and no action."

The major electoral bright spot is in the remote state of Acre, home to thousands of rubber tappers, where PT candidate Jorge Vianna won a spot on the second round of elections. His strength is largely attributed to the legacy of rubber tapper union leader Chico Mendes, murdered by large landowners in 1986. Mendes' alleged killers are finally set to go on trial December 12, and the case has become a major campaign issue.

While Vianna's victory would be great news for the rubber tappers, it—along with results elsewhere in the region—is not much on which to pin hopes for the preservation of the Amazon. □

Ken Silverstein is a journalist based in Rio de Janeiro.

Pakistan

Continued from page 3

written testimony submitted to Solarz, Feldman demonstrates an inability even to calculate 10 percent of the 206 seats contested, describing it variously as 5, 14 and 29. For those still clinging to the old math, 10 percent of 206 seats would properly be described as 20 or 21 seats.

Elections Marcos-style: A powerful indictment of the elections—and, by inference, the NDI statement—has come from a group of graduate students from the department of statistics at the University of Manila.

According to a letter in the *Frontier Post*, the students made independent contact with polling officials in 14 districts. On election day, they gathered data on turnout and election returns and conducted a statistical analysis. The students' analysis indicated that turnout was down 7 to 9 percent from the 1988 elections, in contrast to the official

figures of a 3.2 percent increase. They also discovered a discrepancy of 76,320 votes between their projections of the turnout and the actual figures across the 14 districts.

The students said they conducted their study for "purely academic" reasons, adding that they had no intention of making their results public. But they said they felt compelled to report their conclusions because virtually all of the discrepancy was accounted for by IJI votes.

They said they found good correlation between the actual vote announced for the PDA and the statistical estimate. When it came to the IJI and other parties, however, "correlation between actual votes obtained [announced] ... vis-à-vis estimates based on [the] number of people who obtained voting slips from their camps is not good. Votes obtained are 16 to 23 percent higher than statistical estimates." The students provided a data table for seven seats, six won by parties other than the PDA. In three of the seats, the PDA vote was higher than the statistical estimates of the IJI but the announced totals of the IJI gave them the seat.

The students said they published their findings because, "as citizens of another fledgling democracy, interested in seeing democratic values flourish in the Third World, this is our duty." They concluded, "It is, of course, up to the people of Pakistan to draw their own conclusions. For our part, sadly enough, we see many similarities between the results of these elections and those conducted in the Philippines by the last President Marcos."

The election story continues to unravel in both Washington and Pakistan. In Pakistan, the election commission is refusing to reopen the ballot boxes and give recounts, despite Pakistani law requiring them to do so in the presence of any complaining candidate or his or her designated agent.

According to PDA sources, the election commission allowed a recount only in the race between Bhutto's husband and the son of the caretaker prime minister. But in that case, after only three ballot boxes had been opened, Asif Zardari had picked up 1,200 votes and the recount was stopped. The winning margin has officially been adjusted from 4,800 to 3,600 votes.

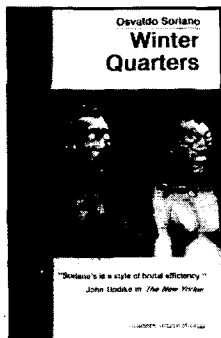
It can safely be said that most Pakistani voters were able to cast votes for the candidate of their choice. The only problem seems to be that certain people were able to cast many ballots for their chosen candidates. But what the heck—isn't voting what makes a democracy? Surely the U.S. won't hold the IJI's enthusiasm for democracy against it when the time comes to renew U.S. assistance to Pakistan. □

John P. Canham-Clyne is a Washington, D.C.-based freelance journalist.

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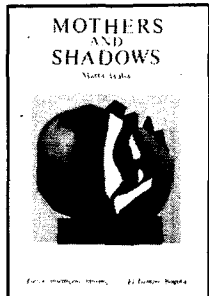
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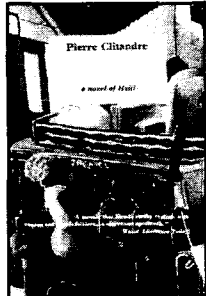
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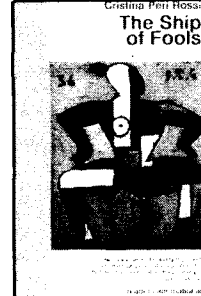
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By Paul Hockenos

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

WHILE DEMONSTRATORS CLOGGED THE streets of Eastern Europe's capitals last year, Hungary plodded patiently along with its piece-by-piece dismantlement of the single-party state. At the forefront of East bloc reform for decades, the country suddenly seemed out of step with its radicalized neighbors. The ostensible calm snapped overnight here on October 25, when a three-day taxi and truck-driver strike shut down the country in protest against liberalized gasoline prices. The protest was the first full-scale popular action against the conditions of privatization in

EAST EUROPE

Eastern Europe. On the front line again, the Hungarian workers set an ominous precedent for the region's growing frustration with the free-market transition.

The strike fired a warning shot heard from Prague to Moscow. "We want capitalism—but not at any price," summed up one cabbie on the Erzsébet bridge barricade. "It seems the government has forgotten about its people." Popular euphoria over the communist regime's overthrow has dissipated. As the reality of the liberal economic policies sets in, the myths of the market are growing ever more transparent.

The strike also exposes the inherent instability of the new democracies. Their economic plights drastically aggravated by the Persian Gulf crisis, the fragile governments find themselves trapped between Scylla and Charybdis. Exports and production have plummeted throughout the former communist countries as industry attempts to adjust to world competition. Soaring prices and unemployment have dashed popular expectations of Western living standards. And above all, the new states see themselves fully at the mercy of Western financial institutions. Any relaxation in full-speed-ahead market reform or prompt debt servicing will mean cuts in loans, assistance and investment.

Popular revolt: Beneath the economic quagmire lies a vast political vacuum. Throughout Eastern Europe, people and parties, workers and unions, citizens and civil society have yet to connect. When the ruling right-nationalist Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) upped gasoline prices 65 percent without warning, taxi and truck drivers had nowhere to go but the streets. Hours after the strike erupted, traffic over borders and in every city was stopped cold. The first major worker-oriented action here since the 1956 revolution rallied popular support at once. Teachers, office employees, students and factory workers joined the revolt, demanding reduced energy prices, anti-inflationary economic policies and compensatory social measures.

The shutdown wasn't just about gasoline prices, said Thomas Krausz of the Left Alternative faction of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP). "A lot of Hungarians began to understand that the change in power meant very little. They are being cheated. They are the losers. The strike was finally their chance to say, 'We understand what's happening.'"

But the social dissatisfaction finds its political representatives stubbornly united on the country's economic prescription. Government and opposition alike nervously underlined their commitment to the economic program drafted by the International Monetary Fund and embarked upon

Hungary sees through free-market myth



'IT WON'T WORK. FIRST WE'LL GET A DEFICIT, A RECESSION, INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, THEN EVERYONE WILL START QUIBBLING ABOUT THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX.'

by communist reformers two years ago. Now, however, provincial dilettantes—rather than professional politicians—run the show. Inflation this year has jumped to 30 percent, and unemployment is steadily climbing. The social fallout—homelessness, poverty and crime—is evident on the streets.

The strike brought to a head the looming crisis in the HDF-led coalition. For months the government has been paralyzed by bickering within the coalition. Since the March election, the shaky coalition's credibility has plunged, its backers reduced to a core of Christian nationalists and ex-communist petit bourgeoisie. In October's municipal elections, HDF was stung badly by losses to the liberal opposition Free Democrats and like-minded Young Democrats. But the under 40 percent turnout in two rounds of voting revealed the larger crisis within Hungarian political society. None of the young parties has a broad social basis. Outside of Budapest, 80 percent of the officials elected were unaffiliated, locally known bureaucrats.

The usually sharp-tongued Free Democrats kept a suspiciously low profile during the strike. "Whether the crisis was the first sign of social fragmentation or the onset of consolidation depends upon whether society understands that it must bear some very heavy burdens," said party leader Janós Kis in a rare show of solidarity with the government. With a Thatcherist economic program to the right of their rivals, Kis and company know well that the same fate awaits them should the coalition fall.

Even Krausz' party, now in opposition, failed to offer an alternative. "The people don't believe in the parties—and with good reason," said the historian and leading left critic of his own party. "The people and the workers realized that they have to organize themselves for their own economic self-defense." Finally they realized that they had power too, he added.

While it caught them off guard, the strike healed splits in the trade unions. The unions, all in favor of some form of privatization, had drifted meekly over the past year. Debate was confined to infighting between the old state-run organizations and the new independent unions. When the drivers appealed for assistance, the unions stepped in united at negotiations with the government and transport companies. Face to face with its

demise, the government backed down.

A deal was struck to cut back gas prices by 30 percent. The timetable for the shift to world market prices will now be determined in parliament.

True colors: The strike also signaled the first real solidarity in a post-communist state of the people with working-class demands. On the graceful Hapsburg bridges that straddle the Danube, neighbors supplied the strikers with sweet tea, ham sandwiches and blankets. In the crisp, Trabant exhaust-free air, whole offices met with picnic lunches to back the action. But in the city center, fist-fights and nasty exchanges showed where the lines were drawn. Frantic runs on grocery stores had the miffed lower-middle class bracing for the next revolution.

Thug-like HDF supporters fueled the hysteria, confronting demonstrators with the government's arguments. "Don't you want to have it like Austria?" demanded a contingent of barrel-chested HDFers. Quiet for a moment, most demonstrators nodded affirmatively. "Then you have to do what the government says," said the men. "But you've had six months, and things are worse! We had it better in [1956-88 Communist leader Janós] Kadar's day," responded one man, breaking an unspoken taboo.

At a loss, the provocateurs countered with the sentiment that its leaders thinly veil: "That's because all the foreign capital is going to Israel." The crowd scoffed and turned away.

During its moment of emergency, the government's true colors came to the fore. Three days after national holidays commemorating the 1956 uprising and its crushing at Soviet hands, the interior ministry ordered police to move against demonstrators. The police chief balked, offering his resignation instead. "If we're sent in against the cabbies, I'll rip off my badge and quit," said one young officer. "I'll never go against the people again."

The HDF's authoritarianism surfaces time and again in its modus operandi. Like a pedantic schoolteacher, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall flies into rages at critical press reports and legitimate opposition in parliament. While the government has pushed through drastic steps to control the media, one spokesperson claimed that the strike could have been averted had the government only had its own media channels. At a press conference, Foreign Mini-

ster Geza Jeszenszky threatened to use full force if such "unlawful" actions happened again. "The people here are still tainted with the experience of communism," he explained. "They don't understand that in democracies, like in Britain, it's acceptable to use force against industrial actions."

In another move reminiscent of the past, HDF mobilized an angry 5,000-strong counterdemonstration in front of parliament. The tenor of the overwhelmingly male rally was aggressive and anti-Semitic. Placards such as "No to a proletarian dictatorship" attempted to associate the stanuchly anti-leftist strikers with the discredited communists.

Other forms of demagoguery were also audible: "The cabbies didn't organize this. It was the Jews," shouted one man. "Jews out of the media!" responded another. Observers held their breath as the demonstration approached the Margit bridge, but, remarkably, violence was averted. "We're just lucky the HDF doesn't have miners," remarked one woman, referring to the Romanian government's June crackdown on protesters.

Vacuum cleaner? As Hungary awakens from the malaise of Kadarism, the social and political vacuum remains unbreached. While racking up a \$20 billion debt, Hungarians lived with relative comfort for three decades in the East bloc's "cheeriest barracks." The price was passive obedience to the ruling power. The incentive is now gone, but the legacy of well-paid apathy continues to haunt the political culture. The bonds forged during the strike offer one form of civil society that could fill the void. But if it is left unnurtured, another power, less timid than the political parties, could well step in.

For the ruling parties throughout Eastern Europe, the winter's chief objective is the preservation of power. As of Jan. 1, 1991, all Soviet oil exports will be calculated at world prices. Sporadic strikes have already hit Romania, where industrial output has dropped 75 percent and exports and investment are down 60 percent from before the revolution. In oil-starved Bulgaria, the economy teeters on the brink of total collapse. The situation of the Czechs and Slovaks is only marginally better.

The dynamic of post-communist Eastern Europe has entered a new phase. The signs bode ill for the new elites—and still worse for the people under them.

IN THESE TIMES NOV. 21-DEC. 4, 1990 11

AMBUSHED

by Gulf policy

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

IN THE FIRST MONTHS AFTER IRAQI DICTATOR Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, the Bush administration gravitated between a self-defeating assertion of American power and a new kind of post-Cold War diplomacy.

When he initially shipped troops off to Saudi Arabia, the president seemed to be following a script borrowed from the Reagan administration's sorry adventures in Lebanon. But when he quickly organized a multilateral force, pressed for economic sanctions through the United Nations and emphasized broad international objectives, he appeared to be setting important diplomatic precedents.

Unfortunately, a quick victory has eluded the Bush administration, prompting the president to abandon what was most promising in his early policy. He is now steering the U.S. on a new and potentially disastrous course that could destroy his administration and undermine the "new world order" that he earlier said he wanted to create. Alternatives still exist—but they would require Bush to repudiate his turn toward a unilateral, military solution to the Gulf crisis.

Two precedents: To understand what went wrong with Bush's policy, one must examine what was initially right about it. In intervening against Hussein, Bush was assembling a coalition against what might be termed "critical invasions." These occur when one country attempts to alter radically

the balance of power in a politically or economically important region by swallowing up a militarily weaker neighbor. They are different from wars caused by old territorial or religious grievances—for instance, those between India and Pakistan. These kinds of wars are properly settled by mediation.

While comparing Saddam Hussein to Hitler is akin to comparing Albania's Enver Hoxha to Stalin, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was very similar to Nazi Germany's conquest of Czechoslovakia in 1938. In both cases, the balance of power was radically altered in an important region. The Bush administration, by establishing a coalition to roust Hussein out of Kuwait, was trying to set a precedent against this type of invasion, one that would affect American and Israeli actions as well as those of Iraq or the Soviet Union. If Iraq had to pay a high price for this invasion, future countries would be deterred from following suit.

Bush's initial policy also set a significant precedent for multilateral action against war and aggression. Since 1915, American presidents have been promoting the ideal of a new world order. Woodrow Wilson conceived of the League of Nations as a means of eliminating the kind of regional conflicts that led to World War I and of creating a disarmed, open world economy in which American industry could assert its superiority. Wilson's League, however, perished in the fires of Leninist revolution and European war. After World War II, Franklin Roosevelt tried to achieve a similar new world order with the United Nations, but in the face of

the Cold War it became a highly polarized debating society.

Now with the end of the Cold War, the possibility of a new world order looms again, but the reason that the U.S. should seek such arrangements has changed. Wilson saw the League as a means of ensuring American economic superiority, but the U.S. now has an interest in strengthening the U.N. and other multilateral alliances in order to achieve economic solvency. Only by sharing the responsibility of world order can the U.S. hope to release the resources necessary to revive its flagging economy.

Moreover, as the balance of world power has shifted, the U.S. can no longer wield influence unilaterally, even in Latin America. As Bush administration officials initially acknowledged, a war that pitted the U.S. alone against Hussein would fan the flames of Arab nationalism and transform him from a pirate into an Arab martyr. Only by participating in a coalition with Arab and European armies could the U.S. avoid the charge of Yankee imperialism and successfully deter future Saddams.

At first, Bush appeared to recognize how important it was to cede American power and responsibility to regional coalitions and to the United Nations. In his September 11 speech, he made the search for a new world order a formal objective of American intervention in the Gulf. The next month, Bush took the unprecedented step of sending a three-star general to represent the Joint Chiefs of Staff at a meeting of the Security Council's previously moribund Military Staff Committee. The next step could have been



to place all of the Gulf forces under U.N. command, but at the end of October Bush veered away from international solutions.

Making Hussein a martyr: The telltale decision came on November 3, when the president announced that he was sending at least 100,000 new troops to Saudi Arabia and would not rotate out those who were already there. The U.S. force would not leave, administration officials declared, until it had completed its mission.

But anyone familiar with the region knows the U.S. cannot maintain more than 400,000 troops on Saudi soil much past the spring, when the blistering summer winds will make military action impossible and when Saudi sovereignty will be compromised by the continued presence of infidel troops during the Moslem holy days. By deploying additional troops, Bush has created this situation: if Hussein does not withdraw, the U.S. will have to go to war before spring.

Administration officials are now resorting to the classic argument that the only way to prevent war is to threaten it by putting on the ground enough forces to drive Hussein out of Kuwait. This means increasing the present allied forces of 230,000 much closer to Hussein's 450,000 troops. But by basing the prospect of peace on a threat of war, the administration is abandoning the embargo as a means of forcing Hussein out of Kuwait.

This strategy could work. Once cornered, Hussein might agree to withdraw before spring rather than risk war. But it is more likely that the administration's ploy will fail, subverting whatever was positive in Bush's

initial intervention.

By sending more than 230,000 troops without a corresponding increase in European and Arab forces and by changing their posture from defensive to offensive, Bush is not only abandoning the attempt to create a multilateral force but is also creating the dread possibility that the U.S. alone will fight Iraq. When the new troops arrive, the U.S. will outnumber all the remaining forces by three to one instead of two to one. And if the U.S. invades Kuwait, Arab troops—now stationed defensively on the front line—will no longer act as a buffer between Iraq and American troops.

A ground war will be fought between the U.S. and Iraq, with the Arab countries, France and Britain playing symbolic roles and, in the case of Syria and Egypt, possibly no role at all. And even if the U.S. succeeds in driving Hussein out of Kuwait, the U.S. will have made him into a martyr whose example other deranged tyrants may seek to emulate.

By sending in more troops, Bush also threatens his support for his policy at home—not to mention in Western Europe. And without public support, the president's threat of force will not appear credible to Hussein.

The problem is this: if Bush threatens to use force, he has to be prepared to use it if Hussein fails to back down. Otherwise, American policy in the Gulf will be thoroughly discredited. But waging a ground war in Kuwait could mean as many as 30,000 American fatalities. Many Americans don't yet realize this, but Congress and policy experts do, and since November 3, they have begun

to opt out in droves—from doves such as former Kennedy administration official George Ball and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-RI) to hawks such as former secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Schultz and Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-GA). Widespread public dissent will probably soon follow, and this will create a Hobson's choice for Bush: either he will have to wage an unpopular war or back down on his threat.

Three alternatives: For his current strategy to succeed, Bush will have to convince Americans and Congress that it is worth 30,000 dead to force Hussein out of Kuwait. Yet, as the budget crisis demonstrated, the president has grown increasingly inept at winning over either the public or Congress. In the week before the election, Bush returned to his old habit of making lame comparisons between Saddam Hussein and Hitler. And the president has refused to ask Congress for a declaration of war—fearing perhaps that Congress would attach too many strings to it.

As Bush's policy deteriorates, politicians and policymakers are beginning to debate alternatives. The following three are currently being discussed:

Air war: Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, military expert Edward Luttwak and other hawks are urging that Bush forgo the option of a ground war and instead threaten air strikes against military installations in Iraq if Hussein does not withdraw from Kuwait—presumably by a stipulated date. Kissinger and Luttwak are both skeptical that the U.S. and its allies could sustain

an embargo over the year or two it might take to work. They acknowledge that an air war might not drive Hussein out of Kuwait, but they argue that it would make him more likely to withdraw and would in any case destroy him as a regional military threat.

This strategy, however, disavows any attempt to strengthen international law and to set precedents for multilateral action. The U.N. would never approve air raids against the Iraqi capital; nor are the Soviet Union and most Western European countries likely to endorse such a move. And even if some Arab rulers privately backed this strategy, they could never do so publicly. Saddam would become a martyr, the U.S. would be isolated in the Mideast and the goal of creating a new world would be abandoned.

Negotiations: Jesse Jackson and others on the left and far right have suggested that the U.S. drop its demand for Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and negotiate a deal with Hussein, possibly giving him access to the sea in exchange for Iraqi withdrawal and the return of foreign hostages. Of course, this is exactly what Hussein has demanded all along, and if the U.S. agreed to this—especially before the embargo has had a chance to work—the administration would be abandoning the purpose for which it intervened. Negotiating Hussein's withdrawal would be tantamount to conceding victory to him. It would arguably encourage rather than deter future invasions of this kind.

Embargo: Nunn, Pell and former Secretary of the Navy James Webb have urged the Bush administration to renounce the threat of a ground war and once again make economic sanctions the centerpiece of U.S. policy. Iraq, they argue, is peculiarly vulnerable to an embargo because its entire economy is based on oil exports.

But embargoes take time and, as Kissinger argues, there is a danger that over a year critical countries such as Iran, Syria or Jordan, provoked perhaps by American support for Israel, will defect, or that Saudi Arabia, fearful that Hussein's regime will survive, will make a separate peace with Iraq. Such an outcome would vindicate Saddam Hussein and undermine the prospects for regional and international organization no less profoundly than a bloody ground war.

But of the three alternatives, the embargo is the most likely to exact some price on Hussein and to maintain the promise of a new world order. For this reason, it seems like the option most worth pursuing.

Yet Bush may have already traveled too far down the road to a military confrontation to back down. To re-adopt an embargo strategy, Bush and Secretary of State James Baker would have to admit that the new troops were unnecessary. Would such an admission of failure embolden Saddam Hussein to hold out indefinitely against American and U.N. pressure? And from a purely domestic perspective, could Bush, with an election coming in 23 months, face the Carteresque prospect of the Iraqi crisis dragging through the general election?

To ask these questions is to recognize the depth of the dilemma that Bush and the U.S. now face in the Gulf. By announcing the deployment of at least 100,000 more troops, the president may have created a situation where the U.S. has to choose between humiliation and bloodshed. Humiliation would be preferable except that it would probably lead to more bloodshed later on.

What once looked like a promising American initiative is turning into yet another quagmire. □

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EDITORIAL



Continued from cover

The first path gave hope of a new day in American foreign policy. The second, a holdover from Cold War brinkmanship, was the sign of an administration purposefully blind to its limitations and intent on diverting Americans' attention from our many domestic crises.

Unfortunately, Bush's heart and his lifetime of service to the Cold War led him down the second path. From the beginning of the Gulf crisis, unilateral action has been the course that Bush and his minions in the State and Defense departments have been begging or bludgeoning other countries to support. And while leaders of these countries have almost unanimously advocated diplomatic efforts and sought time to allow the U.N. sanctions to work, Bush has bulled ahead. Threats, ultimatums and inane comparisons of Hussein to Hitler preceded the November election. The announcement that 200,000 more troops would be sent to the region, held back until the votes were in, followed immediately thereafter.

Giving the lie: Billed at first as a move to defend Saudi Arabia from imminent invasion, Bush's second track was premised on a lie. For while Saddam Hussein had both motive and means to move against Kuwait, he had no reason to move against the Saudis, nor, with his armies strung out all along the Iran border, was he in position to do so. But the president's lie was seized upon uncritically by members of Congress and the media, giving a green light for a new American foothold in the Arab world.

Now, three months later, it is clear that while 230,000 troops are adequate to defend against a non-existent threat, they exert no pressure on Hussein to move out of Kuwait. The army there is simply too small for an invasion of Iraq. But while Bush's army doesn't threaten Hussein, it poses a dual threat to the administration: the Arabs, fearing a permanent presence, don't like U.S. troops on their soil. And neither the troops nor their families back home understand why they are there. The longer they stay without a valid mission, the harder it is to justify their presence.

Having gone this far, Bush cannot pull out without losing face—and dropping even further in the polls. So he has upped the ante in the hope of making his threat credible. Send in enough more troops to convert a defensive force into one capable of mounting an invasion, he reasons, and Hussein will be forced to withdraw from Kuwait.

There is a certain logic to this, but if Hussein is as good as Bush at playing chicken—and he's probably a lot better—it is a logic that leads to war. As one senior administration official told the *Chicago Tribune*, "Nobody wants a war, but there are times and principles [read political expediency] that require it."

Setting a trap: Such talk has caused consternation in Congress. Those such as Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) who oppose a war in the Mideast as well as those who support administration policy are almost equally upset. With the American people now opposing an invasion of Iraq by more than a two-thirds margin, administration forces, which include Democrats such as Rep. Les Aspin of Wisconsin, as well as Republican leaders such as Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas and Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana, want a debate. This is needed, Lugar explained last week, precisely because public support for Bush's policy has unraveled in recent weeks. "That has to stop," Lugar said, "and this is why it is important that we come together,

Congress and the president, now to affirm precisely what we're going to do."

And the anti-war members of Congress initially also wanted a debate but quickly recognized the trap that a congressional callback would create. They could not vote against an invasion of Iraq without making a mockery of our military presence in the Gulf, which most of them support. Such a vote would confirm Hussein's belief that the American people will not support a war just to give Kuwait back to its sheiks. And it would give Bush a way to get the troops back while blaming the opposition party for sabotaging his manly efforts.

A true opposition party would not fear strongly opposing this latest move because it would have opposed the initial sending of troops. But it is inconceivable that the Democrats now in Congress would take an unambiguous stand against Bush's reckless moves at this late date.

The only escape route from continued escalation and a war that would be disastrous for the people of the Mideast, for the Americans involved and, ultimately, even for the Bush administration is the U.N.—the first path. U.N. sanctions can work if they are enforced.

Hussein took Kuwait in order to increase his oil revenues. Permanently deprived of those by the embargo, he has gained nothing and in time will have to concede defeat. This is a path that makes sense for practical as well as principled reasons. Time is short, but it may not be too late to force the administration to change direction.

Declaring war: Bush, Congress and the law

The Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war, but we have fought two major wars and several minor ones since the end of World War II without honoring the basic law of the land. The planned invasion of Iraq, however, is different. This time the American people do not face a fait accompli. On the contrary, the issue is already being debated by the people of this country, if not by our leaders. This was not the case with the Korean War, which was nominally a United Nations action, though in reality an American war. Nor was it the case with the Vietnam War, which started out with a handful of American "advisers" and was gradually escalated until the manufactured Gulf of Tonkin incident was used to stampede Congress into approving the massive use of force against the Vietnamese.

President Bush says he will consult Congress but that he would act unilaterally if Iraq initiated action against our forces. The chance of a provocation by Hussein, however, is less than zero. Bush may be willing to lose at least 10,000 American lives in order to devastate Iraq, but Hussein will not seek his own devastation. So, unless Bush decides blatantly to flout the Constitution, he will have to go before Congress for a declaration of war before attacking Iraq. What Congress does at that point will depend entirely on what the American people do before then. Two out of three Americans now oppose unprovoked military action against Hussein. The sentiment is there, but it must be mobilized to be effective.

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IN THESE TIMES

GOV

LETTERS

Driving dumb

ACCORDING TO DANIEL LAZARE (ITT, NOV. 7), "Rather than the 50 [miles-per-gallon] Honda, the most environmentally benign car may be the high-powered sports car that pays more in taxes yet is clearly not designed for such mundane pursuits as shopping or commuting, both of which take place when demand for highway space is greatest."

That has to be the dumbest remark ever to make it into print, and to find it in your newspaper, of all places.

First, the amount of taxes paid does not correlate with being environmentally damaging or benign. Then are we to believe that people who own high-powered sports cars needn't bother with such mundane pursuits as shopping or commuting? If not, do they go about these endeavors on bicycles or afoot?

Chances are, they own two or more gas guzzlers, plus a speedboat or an airplane, plus a big centrally heated, air-conditioned house and are blasting hell out of the environment with every move they make. Show me an environmentalist, and I'll show you a person who drives a compact car.

Laverne Rison
Albuquerque, N.M.

Advice for Bush

WHERE IS LAO TZU, NOW THAT WE NEED HIM? Why is no one offering his kind of advice to the current emperor? Are we too far into the decline-and-fall stage of this fleeting empire?

I replace the Chinese word *tao* with the phrase "the Way Things Work" in the following quotation (#31) from the *Tao Te Ching*:

*Whenever you advise a ruler in the Way Things Work,
Counsel him not to use force to conquer the universe.
For this would only cause resistance.
Thorn bushes spring up wherever the army has passed.
Just do what needs to be done.
Never take advantage of Power.
Achieve results, but never glory in them.
Achieve results, but never boast.
Achieve results, but never be proud.
Achieve results, because this is the natural way.
Achieve results, but not through violence.
Force is followed by loss of strength.
This is not the Way Things Work.
That which goes against the Way Things Work comes to an early end.*

Harry Willson
Albuquerque, N.M.

Hark, I hear a phony progressive

IT HURT TO SEE IN THESE TIMES GIVE ITS BLESSING to Iowa's Democratic Sen. Tom Harkin (ITT, Oct. 23). Granted, Harkin was better than his opponent, Tom Tauke, but is he a "progressive populist"? Let politicians earn that tag by working consistently for progressive causes; don't simply hand it out because there is no one else around to give it to.

It is interesting that Harkin is calling for a 50-percent cut in the military budget by

the year 2000. Does this mean he's willing to give up his pet food-irradiation project at Iowa State University? That's right, "progressive" Tom Harkin has successfully lobbied the Department of Energy for \$3.9 million to build a food-irradiation facility to treat Iowa pork and other meat products with radiation. Food irradiation is nothing but a misguided attempt to put a smiling face on the nuclear industry, and Harkin fell for it. Food irradiation offers nothing to consumers but additional human-health threats and environmental dangers. It is known to deplete essential nutrients and vitamins and creates unique chemicals in food, some of which are known carcinogens. Even companies such as McDonald's, Coca-Cola and Phillip Morris—no friends of progressives—have recognized the hazards of the process and adopted no-irradiation policies.

Michael Colby
Blairstown, N.J.

Simon, Harkin and the Mideast

YOUR COVERAGE OF THE IOWA AND ILLINOIS SENATE races (ITT, Oct. 24 & 31) spoke in glowing terms of the liberal records of Tom Harkin and Paul Simon. However, I have to question their liberal credentials, given that these two Democrats take positions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that are to the right of the Bush administration—and of many Israelis as well.

Simon and Harkin were among those who recently wrote a letter to Secretary of State

James Baker commending him for his opposition to Palestinian statehood and encouraging him to withdraw all U.S. funding for the United Nations or any of its member agencies, including the World Health Organization, that recognize Palestine. Last June, just four days after Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir restated that Israel would never give up the West Bank and Gaza and would continue its colonization of Palestinian land, these two senators signed a statement that appeared in the *Washington Post* praising Israel's "willingness to allow all options to be put on the table." Shamir's proposal for Israeli-managed elections in certain Palestinian areas was described as "sincere and far-reaching," and the senators called on the Bush administration to give Shamir's plan its "strong endorsement." The pronouncement was widely interpreted as an attack on Baker's call the previous month for the Likud government to give up on the idea of a "Greater Israel."

Not only does Simon oppose the Palestinians' right to self-determination, he opposes the Palestinians even presenting their perspective to the American public. Simon joined Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Charles Grassley of Iowa and like-minded figures on the Republican right in a successful effort to close down the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., despite the fact that no one at the office had ever been accused of criminal activity and the office had complied with all applicable U.S. laws. Both senators also opposed Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat's right to speak before the United Nations.

Harkin and Simon helped spearhead the drive this past summer for the U.S. to cut off negotiations with the PLO. By opposing Palestinian statehood and rejecting negotiations, these erstwhile liberals have effectively endorsed continued occupation and repression. They have similarly rejected any linkage of an estimated \$3.7 billion in U.S. economic and military aid to any Israeli compromise on negotiations, settlements or human rights.

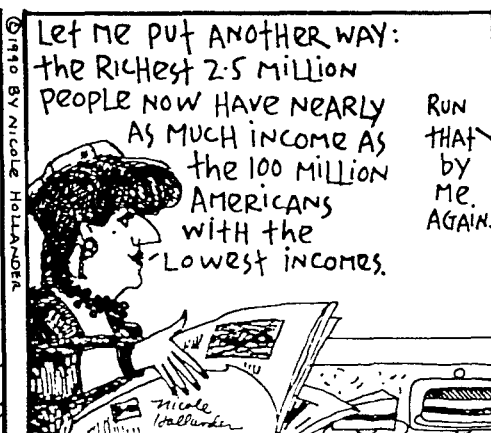
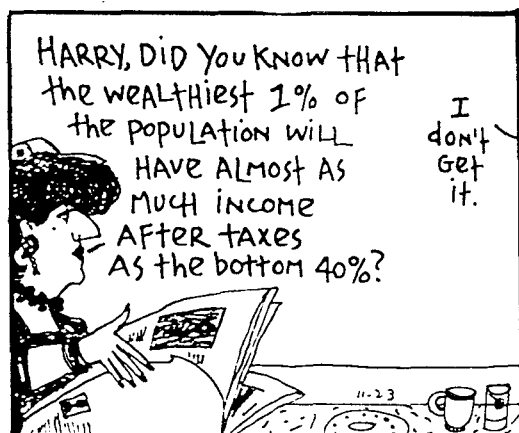
In short, Harkin and Simon believe that military rule is better than democratic self-determination, that U.S. foreign aid should not be linked to human rights, and that military solutions are preferable to diplomatic ones. How *In These Times* could consider these senators as upholding the liberal tradition is beyond me.

Single-issue voting on the Middle East is as wrong as single-issue voting on any other issue. I'm glad Harkin and Simon were re-elected. Yet to ignore their reactionary position on this issue encourages them to keep getting away with it. Politicians must be challenged as vigorously for their reactionary policies on the Mideast as on Central America or anywhere else.

Stephen Zunes
Walla Walla, Wash.

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By Daniel N. Nelson

A NEW BREED OF SNAKE-OIL SALESMAN IS descending on Eastern Europe and the USSR. Representatives of this new breed stand not on the backs of wagons but behind lecterns at free-market investment seminars, business roundtables and management colloquia. Instead of selling eucalyptus tonics or fire and brimstone, these new faith healers proselytize for free-market cure-alls and get-rich schemes.

Eager audiences of naive entrepreneurs and retooling *nomenklatura*—all would-be CEOs, bankers and corporate attorneys—are bombarded with promises of deliverance by Adam Smith (with a bit of Edmund Burke now and then): set the market "free," dismantle state involvement in the economy and society and govern "less" but protect individual rights—principally the right to own property.

This is a new economic determinism, albeit contrived by prophets with familiar smoke and mirrors. Free at last to own and profit, man will be prudent and naturally good. In such an environment, the state can and ought to wither.

The prophets, of course, are not only American. Britons, Germans and other Europeans have been joined by businessmen, bankers and think-tank operatives from other developed capitalist states. Even quasi-religious organizations have entered the fray. Rev. Moon's Unification Church, for example, has begun a concerted effort to expose young Soviet entrepreneurs and

Will property and profit set Eastern Europe free?

university students to Western business practices, as well as the religious practices of that particular sect.

Sowing seeds of untroubled belief, these instant experts are pushing aside those who have spent years mastering the languages and deciphering the socioeconomic complexities of Eastern European cultures. Crowding the hotel lobbies throughout the erstwhile communist world are purveyors of the free-market's unilingual slogan—that property and profit solve all.

There are many converts. But doubt, confusion and disbelief are also consequences of the onslaught underway in meeting rooms and conference sites from Moscow to Varna to Gdansk. While free-market advocates are active in governments throughout the region, few are committed to recreating capitalism as it exists in the West. Instead, officials from Mayor Gavril Popov in Moscow to Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz in Poland temper their commitment to market mechanisms with a recognition of the state's social responsibilities.

These are not students, and the West is not the teacher. These new non-communist officials do not believe that the invisible hand carries a magic wand. Marketization

is not understood simply as a blissful unraveling of state control. Most of these new leaders are cognizant of the struggle and sacrifice that must come before, during and after efforts to regenerate private ownership with a social conscience (Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel's admonition). They know that anything else is a phony bill of goods.

A pragmatic approach to democratization and marketization requires that they be seen as parallel but distinct processes. Their linkage flows from a mutual dependency on political legitimacy and social cohesion. Free markets cannot be created unless power is legitimated through open expression and electoral accountability. Conversely, these democratic practices cannot persevere without advancement on both economic and political fronts. The free market is a guarantor of neither.

Indeed, the interaction between "politics and markets" about which Charles Lindbloom wrote in the early 1980s cannot be ignored. The market of supply and demand is not a benign or self-perpetuating mechanism that ensures survival for the political system interwoven with it. The strains of the market even in stable democracies can rapidly deplete a government's political capital. In systems emerging from

decades of dictatorship, market vicissitudes pose even greater risks to fragile democratic processes. As equality is skewed by exaggerated individualism and the social safety net evaporates, popular support for democracies will shrink.

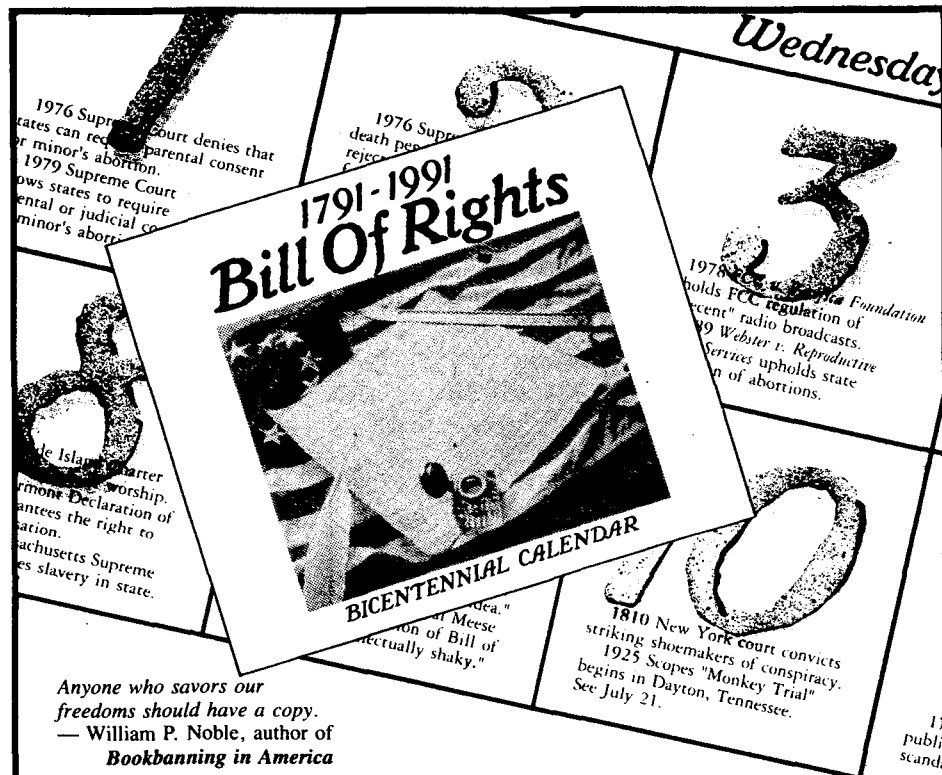
But these complexities are ignored by the new wave of market proselytizers. Their avoidance of the underside of property and profit is at once the greatest strength and weakness of their message. These salesmen have a simple and reassuring pitch. In an environment where anyone can get rich, everyone is free. Such banal equations are, in fact, the indispensable logic of today's capitalist carpetbaggers.

Russians, Czechs and Hungarians, to their credit, are not all buying into this shell game, knowing that states exist in part to insure the well-being of those who cannot adequately provide for themselves. They know, too, that the requirements for governmental legitimation have evolved far beyond Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

Private enterprise is an obvious and necessary component of the transition from one-party authoritarianism to full-fledged democracy. But alone it is not sufficient to the transition. Even the most popular, trusted governments must provide political goods—liberty, equality, justice—as they attempt to improve material well-being.

Pursuing one at the expense of the other may destroy Eastern Europe's chances of achieving either. But the snake-oil salesmen won't tell you that.

Daniel N. Nelson is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



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By A.W. Tymowski

LECH WALESA'S ELECTION AS PRESIDENT of Poland is as sure a thing as anything in politics can be. His margin of victory on November 25 and whether a runoff will be required are still areas for speculation, but the real question is: what will Poland look like the day after the election?

The first East bloc country to break free from communist rule, Poland is the only one that still has its former Communist leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, as president. He was retained in 1988 with Solidarity's support as part of the bargain struck at the "round table," a power-sharing formula designed to forestall a Soviet military reaction.

Since then, President Jaruzelski has used his broad presidential powers wisely (they include martial law)—that is, not at all. Instead, legislative initiative and executive authority for political and economic reforms have belonged to the government of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Mazowiecki has carefully navigated his reforms past the parliament's Communist deputies, who were retained under the round-table settlement.

Under Mazowiecki's leadership, Poland has plunged into the untested waters of the free marketplace. Tight-money policies, cuts in subsidies and the elimination of price controls have successfully curbed hyperinflation. But they've also brought unemployment and a 30 percent drop in buying power.

Despite these hardships, most people accepted the reform early on because it "balanced" the market. A person who previously could afford a kilo of ham but found only a tenth that amount available after queuing for several hours felt liberated when able to buy the same tenth of a kilo in any butcher shop at any time—small matter that he could not afford more.

But the tight-money policy, instead of trimming away inefficient enterprises, caused a recession. Directors of old state-run enterprises bent the rules to keep afloat, hoping to survive past denationalization. "Enfranchisement of the *nomenklatura*" became a catch phrase used to describe how Communist-connected managers changed into presidents of newly privatized companies.

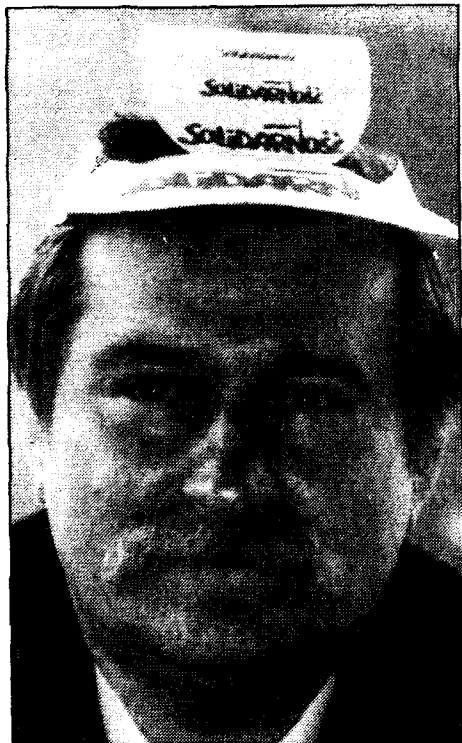
Popular dissatisfaction mounted. Belt-tightening produced few rewards for ordinary people, while the well-connected seemed to be getting along just as before. Farmers, who were especially hard hit by the reforms, began to protest the government's broken promises and unfair policies.

Meanwhile, it seemed that Solidarity's cadre of pre-1989 leaders was unconcerned, sitting in parliament, publishing newspapers and globetrotting on lecture circuits.

Enter Walesa: In the summer of this year, Walesa charged the Mazowiecki government with dragging its feet on privatization and ignoring the problems of the poor while carrying on "salon politics" in a closed circle of old friends. And, Walesa complained, Jaruzelski was still president. "Enough! This is not the Poland I fought for," he railed. Calling for Jaruzelski's resignation, Walesa threw down the challenge: "Accelerate the changes!"

Trouble was, Walesa had no instrument for making the changes. His only elected office was chairman of the Solidarity trade

Election splits Solidarity, but Walesa still a shoo-in



Lech Walesa

union. He also lead the Committee Working with the Chairman of Solidarity, a body he called together as a sort of Solidarity steering committee for the round table and the parliamentary elections that followed.

But after calling for Jaruzelski to step down—and insinuating himself as a natural candidate to take his place—Walesa effectively split his own committee. At first it was a question of pluralism. Walesa and his supporters, mostly newcomers with no long record in the opposition, declared that it was time for a diversity of opinions within Solidarity. Their opponents, for the most part intellectuals, veteran oppositionists from the '70s and '80s and some working-class Solidarity leaders from 1981, maintained that Solidarity's heritage of consensus was still needed against economic chaos and disruption by the *nomenklatura*.

As Walesa's people (calling themselves the Agreement of the Center, or Centrum) began to act more and more like a political party—or at least as an electoral mechanism—their opponents reluctantly abandoned their calls for consensus and formed the Citizens Movement for Democratic Action (Polish initials: ROAD). They opposed Walesa's candidacy but were without a candidate of their own until mid-October, when Mazowiecki announced.

One ROAD diverged: ROAD complains that the difference between Walesa and Mazowiecki is only one of style and that Centrum has no counterprogram to the government's reform plan.

Not so, says Centrum leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski. He states the differences in three succinct points: "We differ in our views on the nation, the church and privatization. They want to be Europeans; we are proud to be Poles. They promote freedom of 'world-view'; we are Catholics. They have reservations about privatization; we are 100 percent for it."

On close examination, however, Centrum's positions are self-contradictory. It favors speeding up privatization (which has gone

slowly, partly because the government insists on due process to prevent abuses by the old directors) but opposes enfranchising the *nomenklatura*. Centrum supports farmers' grievances but does not say how the subsidies they need ought to be budgeted.

Despite Centrum's paradoxical stands, its rhetoric cuts deep into a vein of frustration running through different segments of society. Even some of Walesa's former enemies, who once accused him of fostering a personality cult and abandoning Solidarity's founding principles, jumped on his bandwagon because of his attacks on the Warsaw intellectuals.

It is not easy to read a program in Walesa's statements, but the difference between the political styles of Walesa and Mazowiecki is clear.

What kind of president will Walesa be? "I will clear corruption away with an ax," he has said. And on another occasion he promised to be "a Flying Dutchman, descending wherever I'm needed to straighten out a mess, break a logjam and get things moving." When asked at campaign rallies for some specifics, he often says, "A politician who makes specific proposals is a liar. As president, I will empower all of you to take charge. That's democracy. That's my job."

Mazowiecki's style on the stump is the direct opposite of Walesa's. Long-faced, with weary tread, he rises to speak. Slowly he explains that he stands for "humility, effectiveness and reasonableness" in facing the enormous task still ahead. In Krakow, Mazowiecki drew several thousand when he spoke at the university. A week later, Walesa drew 200,000 in Krakow's main square. From there he went to the university to receive an honorary award.

Despite the polls, some of which show

If Walesa is elected president this month, he will at long last assume formal responsibility for his rhetoric, forcing him to actually make and implement government policy.

each candidate getting approximately 30 percent of the vote, impressionistic evidence like these two Krakow rallies is hard to dismiss. Equally impressive is the torrent of Solidarity electoral committees and union locals that have announced their support for Walesa.

Field of dreamers: There are other candidates. Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, has been preaching his brand of nationalism since the '70s. His organization has attracted radical young people who have

taken to occupying offices owned by the former Communist Party, demanding possession for their organization.

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, the left candidate, was a member of the Polish United Workers Party, which led the post-war Communist coalition and dissolved last year to form two splinter "social democratic" parties. His message, out of context, sounds reasonable: concern for the environment and for the social costs of reform and insistence on equitable privatization, including employee stock options. No one, however, will forget his Communist past on election day.

Stan Tyminski, who lives in Canada, is running as an independent, to all appearances relying on his devotion to the free market and his newly published book to propel his candidacy.

All of these candidates together may garner up to 10 percent of the vote. The real variable in the equation is Roman Bartoszcze of the Peasant Party. The 36 percent of the population who live on farms are Bartoszcze's natural constituency. They have been the most active social group pressing grievances against the Mazowiecki government, opposing its policies in parliament and in tax protests and roadblocks. But Bartoszcze's Peasant Party needs to shake its image as a "remodeled" member of the old Communist coalition. If Bartoszcze makes a respectable showing—possibly 20 percent—his party will gain the legitimacy it desperately needs for parliamentary elections next spring.

This could prevent either of the two front runners from gaining a first-round majority, requiring a runoff election. The possibilities for horse trading are interesting, but in the final election voters from the smaller parties—dissatisfied with the Mazowiecki government—would most likely throw their support behind Walesa.

If Walesa wins, he will at long last assume formal responsibility for his rhetoric, forcing him to make and implement government policy. His supporters would then have to choose between their personal loyalty to him—which is all that unites them—and their divergent political interests.

If, however, Walesa should somehow lose, the frustration his campaign has unleashed would be left without a legal, institutional outlet. This possibility is fueling dire predictions that Walesa would then be swept into power by extralegal means—a potentially lethal blow to Polish democracy.

Adding to the uncertainty in Poland is confusion over exactly what powers the nation's new president will wield. The new constitution defining the office of the presidency has yet to be drafted by parliament. And, as of now, there is no clear consensus on which parliament should pen the constitution: the present one with its Communist deputies or the one to be chosen next spring in fully free elections. And what sort of authority should the president exercise until then?

On November 25, Polish voters will decide whether it is better to face these questions with Walesa sitting as president or as head of a populist revolt against the intellectuals and bureaucrats in power. ■

A.W. Tymowski, who recently returned from Eastern Europe, covers developments in Poland for *In These Times*.

By Ann Nocenti

HEAVY LACED BOOTS TROOP IN an even row of muscular men; matching red berets, white shirts with a flying eye-in-a-triangle insignia make the turn onto 182nd Street in the Bronx, New York. The street is a classic scene of litter, stripped cars, boom boxes and b-boys doing their funky dances. Curious children dash under the somber mistrustful faces of the

CRIME

elders. They watch as the Guardian Angels arrive.

Following them is the three-person, all-white film crew, and as this militant media assault slices through the hostility to film the action on the street corner, a bottle flies out of the sky, narrowly missing the film crew.

And why not throw bottles? We weren't there to take glamor shots, and the neighborhood knew it.

Mean streets: New York City streets are hard to patrol, and crime is easy in a town where skyscrapers cast long shadows. Even the cops cluster together in the rich neighborhoods, satisfied just to "contain" crime to the poorer ones. When the streets are dangerous—and our social contract with the police relinquishes our right to defend ourselves—something has to give.

Into this vacuum troops the Guardian Angels, the V-Cops, the Pink Panthers and other citizen anti-crime patrols. But these are also special-interest groups; the Guardians fight street crime but will walk past "acceptable" crime such as prostitution. The Pink Panthers ignore drug users, considering it their task solely to deter street violence, especially gay-bashing. Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, citizen groups form specifically to harass prostitutes.

The splinter-group citizen patrols speak of each other with something like disdain—"We're not like them." One Pink Panther claimed the Panthers shun publicity and didn't want even to be mentioned in the same piece as the Guardian Angels. But, despite their different agendas, methods and varying definitions of "crime," civilian patrols are all taking the law into their own hands. And who can blame them? Prostitutes are harassed by police and their fellow citizens, while violence against them goes unpunished. The "drug war" hysteria may have put drug crackdown high on police enforcement lists, but it is doubtful the protection of homosexuals against violence is high on anyone's agenda but their own.

Who guards the Guardians? Curtis Sliwa is the man the Guardian Angels call the "light" and guiding vision of who they are. Evangelistic allusions permeate their 44th Street Manhattan headquarters. The walls are plastered with commendations, heroic news stories and comic-hero



Community patrols walk on the wild side

posters. These young men and women believe they are "doing the right thing." Whether they practice just vigilance or vigilante injustice has been a decade-long debate.

They carry no weapons yet supported Bernard Goetz (who opened fire on his alleged muggers). The Angels are not a protection racket, but there are reports of Angels going door to door, harassing residents for "donations." They are for the protection of the people, but a search of the articles about them not displayed on headquarters' walls reveals many accusations of violence, of beating, provoking and bullying "the people." They call themselves primarily "a visual deterrent" against crime, but they practice a "slam and jam" procedure when they witness a crack smoker or other petty crime.

And yet, our streets can be scary: people feel like ducks in a shooting gallery and the cops cluster in the light and avoid the shadows. And why not? A police badge and gun are not enough anymore when muggers roam in packs as large as 30 or more.

A citizen anti-crime group sounds like a good idea. There are horror stories of people getting mugged in full daylight while their neighbors watch passively. The Angels are an inspiration for everyone to become vigilant. And yet when a paramilitary

group is allowed to form and patrol dangerous streets, there are bound to be problems. After two days on patrol with the Angels (filming for Polish television), I found that an idea is only as good as the individual Angel that executes it.

Sebastian Metz, the well-trained "international coordinator," is the articulate, earnest youth Sliwa chose to face our camera. In his hands, the Guardian Angels seem like a great idea. All criticisms of the Angels are fielded.

Harassing people for donations? That was the "Angel Guardians," a group posing as the real thing to make money. Stories of Angel brutality? That's part of the ongoing police and press harassment they suffer. Metz claims the Angels police themselves, ever-vigilant for the Angel who's let the power go to his head or who has problems he thinks he can work out with his fists. These bad angels are weeded out. But even the model Guardian, Metz, in telling tales of being surrounded and beaten up by 10 thugs, calls the incident "fun." But didn't it hurt? "I didn't feel a thing."

The idea of Guardian Angels is a good one, yet, once given the red beret and a sense of power, they are on their own. Walking the streets, confronting crime, one wonders: who polices the policemen? Same people

who guard the guardians: no one.

The older guard: In Queens, the Veterans Civilian Observation Patrol, or V-Cops, patrol the streets at night. One V-Cop, Jack, believes citizen patrols can do what the police can't.

"The police are afraid to go out and patrol ghettos. [They're] afraid of being shot. But with community patrols, we're one of your own—they can't kill you 'cause they know you. Maybe you dated their mother or you watched them grow up."

The V-Cops are all veterans of military service. Many suffered through "post-traumatic stress syndrome" from combat, and most are ex-drug or -alcohol addicts. All are recruited out of a Salvation Army homeless shelter.

A few years ago, Officer Fran Kimkowski of the 108th Precinct had a unique solution to the restlessness and occasional trouble erupting out of the Salvation Army Veterans Shelter; she and Russell Hicks, a social worker, recruited 13 of the homeless men for a civilian patrol.

"I was ready to 'do the wrong thing' to myself," says Keith. "Now, as a V-Cop, I can serve my community just like I used to serve my country."

Night moves: Patrols of eight to 22 men, wearing the green T-shirts and jackets of the V-Cops, meet in the 108th Precinct's community conference room and discuss the night's procedures. They choose a point man and discuss problems, such as a rowdy bar, evidence of drug paraphernalia or a dark warehouse—situations, as V-Cop Robert Stokes put it, "we need to shed a light on." They use patrol techniques, hand signals, stagger formations and walk a two or more block parameter and close it down to one block as they patrol. Unlike the Guardians, they restrict themselves to observation and reporting.

"Excitement is not what I'm looking for anymore," says Robert, who did a tour in Vietnam. "I want tranquility. Whether I want to buy a juicer or a blender, that's my excitement."

One V-Cop, who was diagnosed as a catatonic schizophrenic, spent 16 years as a "walking time bomb" and was "experimented on" with many drugs. He now feels balanced out and is committed to the V-Cops.

"We have a city budget crisis and

Despite their different agendas and methods and varying definitions of "crime," civilian patrols are taking the law into their own hands.

a crime problem, but I believe a community can protect itself."

When asked about the Guardian Angels' more aggressive techniques, one V-Cop says, "They're just kids. They haven't lived yet. The veterans have lived too much." Officer Kimkowski said, "The Guardians are not willing to comply with police regulations."

Who watches the watchmen?

My main impression of a day in the life of a Guardian Angel was: fighting boredom. They patrol in a line, walk street after street, ride subways, walk more pavement, ride more subways and go home. Not much happens. They are a visual deterrent—at least, until they turn the corner. It's a boring life, and, frankly, I wouldn't want to do it. Just as some Guardians say they wouldn't want the more dangerous life of a cop.

Granted, a film crew instantly changes reality. The Angels were on their best behavior, as the streets tend to be in the presence of a film crew. At least in Midtown Manhattan. But not so in the South Bronx. There, where crime is far worse and cops are invisible, the hostility toward both Angels and film crew was palpable. In this neighborhood, where the police "containment" practice furthers the ghettoization of crime, the Angels were not welcome. Some children praised them, a few mothers seemed happy to see them, but everyone in between was hostile.

The day's shoot over, I exit the subway, alone now, to walk across East 116th Street. I admit to missing those Angels. A few guys cross the street to follow me close. I switch sides, and they follow me back. No Angels or cops in sight.

I drift toward a couple of old hipsters sitting on a stoop smoking pot. I realize that if the Angels were here, I wouldn't fear getting mugged. But would they "slam and jam" these two old guys sharing a joint? Would the V-Cops only "observe and report" my mugging? The Pink Panther Patrol in their black T-shirts with pink triangles wouldn't be found this far uptown, as they patrol only the neighborhoods with the highest rates of violence against gays and lesbians. And if I were a prostitute, depending on the patrol, I could be ignored, arrested or beaten. Does freedom of choice extend to why you chose to defend one person and not another?

As I walk my white face down the block, I can only hope it is on the agenda of this all-black street population to defend white folk. I realize, I myself am my only sure defender. Like the Old West code—the only law is your own law. I walk near the hipsters on the stoop and hope I can rely on just what all citizen patrols represent: community policing. But the problem remains: will people ever agree on just what needs policing?

Ann Nocenti is a writer living in New York City.

Robert Johnson
The Complete Recordings
 Columbia

By Dean Robbins

New tracks on trail of obscure genius



B LUES FANS HAVE HAD TO MAKE do with a mere 32 tracks by Robert Johnson, the tormented singer-guitarist who was murdered after only two brief recording sessions in the 1930s. But these few performances, recorded in a couple of makeshift studios (actually a hotel room and a warehouse), have been enough to establish Johnson as a 20th-century giant. Critics have approached his blues with an exegetical zeal worthy of Béla Bartók or Igor Stravinsky.

The strange thing is: Johnson recorded more than 32 tracks. Columbia owns 41 but has inexplicably held nine precious alternate takes until now. *The Complete Recordings* finally presents his modest oeuvre in its entirety: 29 originals and 12 surviving alternates, all stamped with Johnson gothic Mississippi dread. The package also offers a scholarly essay, annotated lyrics, testimonials from Eric Clapton and Keith Richards and even some statistical arcana (including a death certificate) bound to delight information-starved Johnson enthusiasts.

Leaving aside the racism and negligence of Columbia's delay (would they sit on nine unheard masterpieces by Bartók or Stravinsky?), I'd say this release is one of the most joyous events in recent music history. Robert Johnson, that poor bedeviled wanderer, is finally being presented with the respect due an American master.

The black arts: Like any obsessive Johnson fan, I immediately combed through the nine "new" tracks for clues to his origins, his genius and his mysterious demise. Until recently, Johnson was little more than a name. Researchers began to turn up a few facts in the early '70s, but not enough to uncover the man behind the myth. Johnson's companions said he was a loner who bartered with the devil for his uncanny talent. His death at 27 was reportedly connected to "the black arts." One bluesman heard that Johnson crawled on all fours and barked like a dog after being poisoned by a vengeful lover.

In spite of painstaking efforts, the researchers can't disprove these fantastic claims. And even if they could, what would it matter? The important thing is that Johnson himself believed in the Faustian pact. He's seriously spooked as he wails about the hellhounds on his trail, the voodoo power sprinkled around his door or the devil walking by his side. "Cross Road Blues" describes a soul in grave danger, as the protagonist sinks to his knees and shouts, "Save poor Bob, if you please!"

Johnson's fear is so immediate that some critics have compared

him to a wild animal. The snobbish suggestion is that Johnson was an inspired primitive whose howls were untainted by artifice. It's a semi-plausible hypothesis, given the fact that he was a poor country boy with no education or training. We don't usually associate high art with a lone drifter such as Johnson, who plied his trade for road gangs, rural dancers and street-corner audiences.

Blues, rags and hollers: On the other hand, Johnson may have been the most self-conscious of artists. His vocal bag of tricks included mumbled regrets, sexy come-ons, pinched exhortations and urgent falsetto pleas. Echoing the lyrics, his guitar strings moaned like the wind or rattled with apocalyptic frenzy. The question is: did Johnson have much control over these effects, or did the music just flow out of him that way?

Against all odds, *The Complete Recordings* has an answer. When the

talent scouts ushered Johnson into a miked San Antonio hotel room—and later a Dallas warehouse—they asked him to do safety takes of each song. The record company, which

Until recently, Johnson was little more than a name. Researchers began to turn up a few facts in the early '70s, but not enough to uncover the man behind the myth.

was rounding up country blues musicians to exploit the Depression's lucrative "race" market, wanted the backups to be as similar to the masters as possible.

Sometimes they were. The alternate takes of "Little Queen of Spades," "Me and the Devil Blues" and "Drunken Hearted Man," newly available here, are almost identical to the masters. The second take of "Phonograph Blues" is similar to the first but less persuasive; Johnson had either depleted his emotional reserves or lost interest in the whole thing.

The alternate of "Come on in My Kitchen" is more illuminating. The master take is a classic Johnson dirge: his lover has betrayed him, and nature itself reflects the emptiness in his heart. The performance is slow and deliberate, each note weighted with gloom.

How astonishing then to find the

alternate take done up-tempo. It's practically boisterous! Like the alternate of "Phonograph Blues," this version might reflect Johnson emotional exhaustion after his epic first performance. But it also suggests that he controlled the song and not the other way around. He could tinker with tempo and mood, exchanging his tragic mask for an ironic one.

A new key: The two takes of "Cross Road Blues" demonstrate an even more masterly control. The familiar version is a chiller: the sun sinks; strangers pass by, and Johnson, stranded at the crossroads, cries desperately for help. The alternate take is just as effective, but it's notable for the inclusion of two different stanzas. Apparently, Johnson's feeling for the material was so profound that he could freely exchange lyrics and create a new masterpiece on the same theme.

Here, I think, is a key to Johnson's mystical identity. The man who produced these back-to-back versions of "Cross Road Blues" was certainly no primitive, but neither was he a typical artist, detached from his material. Johnson's primal passion is inseparable from his technique, and that's a rarity in the history of Western music. If there's a heaven for this special brand of genius, I imagine Johnson is sharing a cloud somewhere with Charlie Parker, that other great mystery man of American art.

So much for Johnson the musician. What about Johnson the man? The most tantalizing moment on *The Complete Recordings* is a freshly unearthed snippet of conversation—the first and only record of Johnson's speaking voice. Before one take of "Love in Vain," he mutters something to the engineer, his words barely audible through the static: "I wanna go on with our next one myself."

I played this line over and over. Was Johnson speaking to us from the grave? What did he mean by "our next one"? And who would possibly "go on" with it besides Johnson himself? I puzzled over various symbolic interpretations but stopped just short of hysteria. (Hysteria is a common problem among Johnson scholars.) I sadly realized that Johnson is—and forever will be—as incomprehensible as this strange fragment.

There is one consolation. If Johnson has hidden from us in history, he's exposed himself utterly in art. Rarely has a musician presented his yearnings and anxieties so nakedly. And now, thanks to *The Complete Recordings*, we finally know Robert Johnson the artist—alternate takes and all—as well as we possibly can. ■

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Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific

By David Robie
Zed and Pluto Press
313 pp., \$15

By E. Rampell

L EFT LITERATURE HAS A LONG tradition of non-native authors involved in uprisings who write major accounts of peoples' movements. Englishman Thomas Paine wrote on the American revolution. Yanks John Reed and William Hinton wrote on the Mexi-

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can, Russian and Chinese revolutions. Frantz Fanon, from Martinique, wrote about the Algerian and African revolutions. Che Guevara, an Argentinian, wrote extensively on the Cuban revolution. Now, with *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific*, David Robie—a white New Zealander—has written the definitive chronicle of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement to date.

Oceania is Robie's beat, and he is the Pacific islands' pre-eminent print journalist. From Polynesia to Melanesia to Micronesia, Robie has been

Pacific, but hardly peaceful

there, writing the living history of the last region of the world still dominated by outright colonialism. Robie removes the stereotypical South Seas facade of "paradise" in an area besieged by big-power strategic interests.

Where the action is: Robie's reckless regard for truth during his years of living dangerously has repeatedly brought him to the brink. The island-hopper has faced off against French Foreign Legionnaires, secret agents, the Fijian military, reactionary nationalists and skittish publishers unable to halt his quest for the untold side of the story.

After sailing from the Marshall Islands to Auckland aboard the *Rainbow Warrior*, Robie left the Greenpeace ship barely an hour before French saboteurs blew it up. White-hating extremists harassed him at a conference in Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides). French soldiers held him at gunpoint in New Caledonia. A Fiji-based regional magazine unceremoniously sacked the uncom-

promising reporter, resulting in the Pacific press' biggest brouhaha in years and Robie's replacement by a conservative correspondent.

Nevertheless, the voice of the "progressive" Pacific remains unstilled and speaks eloquently in *Blood on Their Banner*. While much has been reported lately about Kuwaiti self-determination, Robie reveals the conveniently forgotten wars launched by Indonesia against the Melanesians of East Timor and West Papua. Minus vast oil reserves, U.S. allies neglect the expansionism of a pro-

Oceania is New Zealand writer David Robie's beat, and he's the Pacific islands' pre-eminent print journalist.

U.S. regime.

Robie, who has lived in France and speaks French, chronicles the independence struggles of French-occupied Polynesia and New Caledonia. Nowhere is the paradise paradox so sharply apparent as in Tahiti. Robie explodes the Gauguin myth of the Tahitian Eden like one of the nuclear weapons tested at nearby Moruroa. Robie's Tahiti is no earthy heaven but rather a colony beset by labor unrest, riots, radiation victims, a growing independence movement and an artificial economy, with growing disparity between rich and poor, supported by France's South Pacific nuclear-testing site.

Hits and misses: The turmoil at New Caledonia—or Kanaky, as those seeking independence call it—has reached Battle of Algiers proportions. Black natives known as Kanaks have been pitted against Paris and white settlers called Caldoches, plus other dregs of the tricolor's shrinking empire (Algeria, Indochina, and even recently liberated Vanuatu), who are making their last stand at Nouméa. This deadly independence struggle has resulted in massacres, hostage-taking and numerous political assassinations, including that of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, head of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front.

Blood on Their Banner also has a chapter on the first contemporary assassination of a Pacific head of state. Robie sheds new light on the brutal slaying of Haruo Remeliik, the first president of the Republic of Palau, a U.S.-administered U.N. trust territory. The author makes a strong case that the Remeliik hit was a covert action aimed at overturning the world's first nuclear-free constitution. The subsequent reign of terror that gripped Palau is depicted as a U.S.-inspired attempt to eliminate the Micronesian nation's anti-nuclear charter.

Robie goes on to disclose that the Fiji military coup—widely depicted as a nationalist resurgence by Melanesians threatened by Indian descendants of indentured laborers—was another clandestine U.S. operation. According to this conspiracy scenario, Gen. Sitiveni Rabuka overthrew the short-lived Labor government of Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra because the newly elected multiracial coalition challenged U.S. foreign policy.

The left-leaning Bavadra government had announced a nuclear-free course, ending port visits by U.S. crafts to a strategic Pacific hub. The savvy Robie shows that class, and not race, is the underlying dialectic in the Fiji fracas, where divide and conquer is the rule. Ethnicity was used as a racial smoke screen by Washington and its islander allies to topple an anti-nuclear pro-worker government that threatened interests of both the Fijian elite and the Pentagon.

Blood on Their Banner includes passages on the alleged Libyan and Soviet threats to Oceania, non-aligned Vanuatu—the so-called "Pacific Cuba"—and much more. Robie's reportage is the most comprehensive review of the oceanwide liberation movement in print.

Unlike some of his leftist literary forebears, Robie does not philosophize on the causes he covers. While his journalism may be engaged, Robie reports. Unlike Fanon, he does not wax poetic and theorize. Perhaps it will be up to an aboriginal author to get beyond the outer reality of oppression to the inner psychology of colonialism, the South Seas schizophrenia of dark skins and light masks.

But as a scribe who is in it but not of it, the New Zealander preserves an objective stance that natives, born and bred in the maelstrom, may find difficult to sustain. Robie has one foot in each world, that of the settler and the colonized, and can see both points of view—although he decidedly empathizes with the perspective of the wretched of the isles. This is Robie's great strength as the leading progressive print journalist in paradise lost. ■
E. Rampell is a writer living in Hawaii who specializes in the politics of the Pacific.

**Notes on the Underground:
An Essay on Technology,
Society, and the Imagination**
By Rosalind Williams
MIT Press, 288 pp., \$24.95

By Karen Rosenberg

LLEVEL 7, A NOVEL ABOUT NUCLEAR war, scared me half to death in my early teens. The claustrophobia of an underground bunker, where the inhabitants gradually die from radiation sickness starting with the uppermost and ending with the deepest and most privileged level, is imprinted on my memory. Nuclear war was being

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talked about around 1959, when this novel by Mordecai Roshwald appeared; those were the days of "duck and cover" drills in schools and of fallout shelters in the backyard. Science fiction not only articulated but also intensified a current obsession.

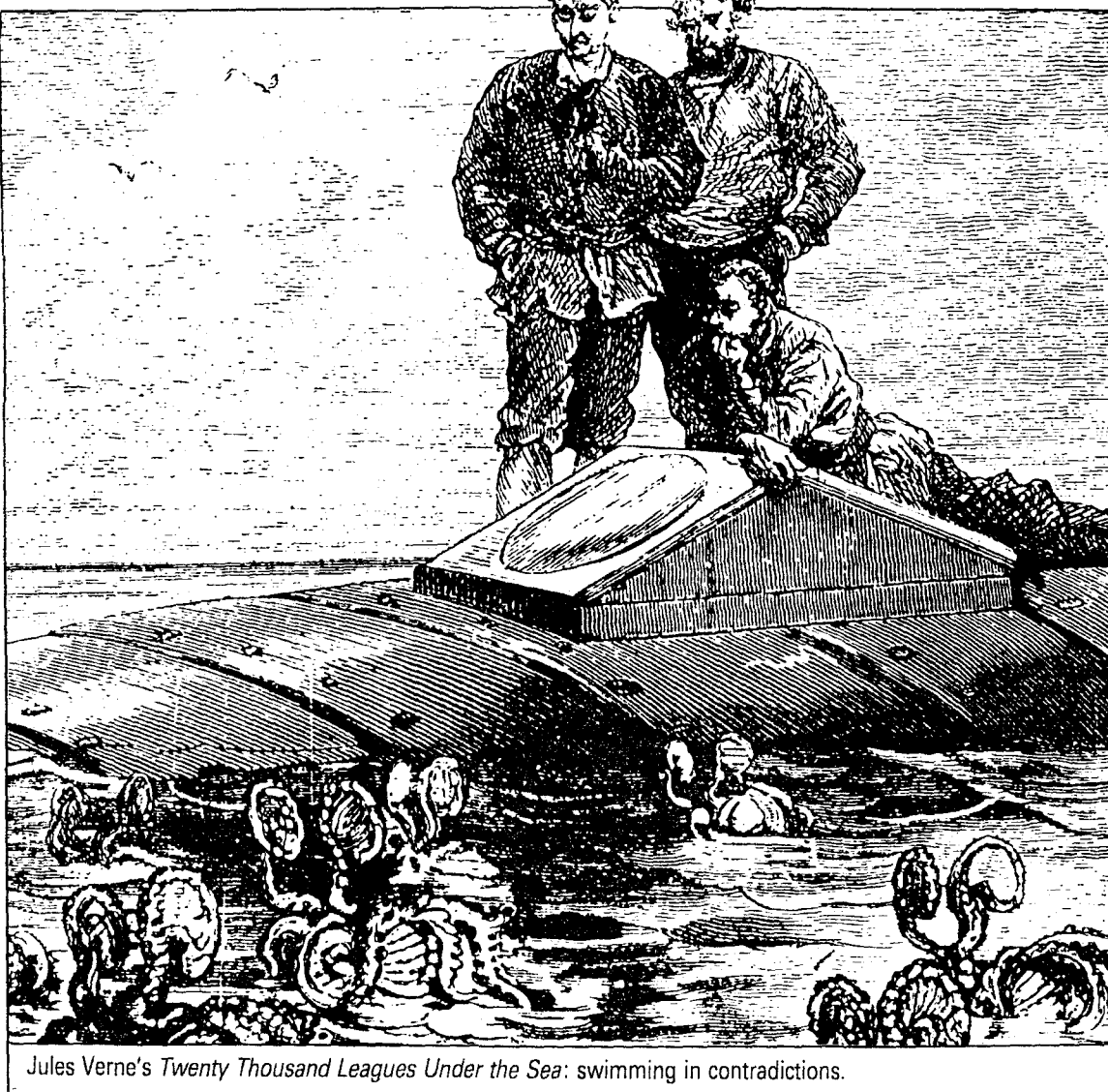
Having experienced the power of a novel about the underground, I can understand why Rosalind Williams chose this subgenre as the focus of *Notes on the Underground*, her book about an earlier traumatic period, the Industrial Revolution. The journey to the underworld captured the imagination of 19th-century engineers, archaeologists and novelists.

The energy that much of this exploration generated can be read as a sign of anxiety as well as enthusiasm. In 19th-century literature, Williams shows, characters often descend into the earth to escape the fallout of the Industrial Revolution—class conflict, overcrowding, war and a butchered landscape—only to find other problems underground.

Schlock of the old: Most of the books Williams examines are pretty obscure. If the greatest literature transcends its time, schlock does not, and so makes terrific fodder for cultural historians. Thankfully, Williams is willing to wade through novels about life underground such as Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Coming Race* (1862), William Delisle Hay's *Three Hundred Years Hence* (1881) and Gabriel de Tarde's *Underground Man* (first published in French in 1896). Even the plot summaries are a snore, though Williams' analysis more than compensates.

But Williams is also interested in the works of Jules Verne. Verne's books, which have been relegated to the status of children's literature, may be better known, but that does not make them well understood. As Williams clearly shows, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (first published in 1869-70) contains much more than the gee-whiz gadgetry that impressed me in my preadolescence.

It turns out that Verne was something of a social theorist. He sets some of his ideal societies underground (or underwater) in order to structure these enclosed environments according to his imagination. For him, and other 19th-century



Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*: swimming in contradictions.

Going beneath the surface in search of utopias past

writers, the underground served as a "subterranean laboratory" for fictional social experiments.

Verne's political orientation is difficult to pigeonhole—even contradictory, according to Williams. Like the utopian socialist Saint-Simon, Verne believed that harmonious cooperation would result when people worked together on scientific projects. He also had a recurrent fantasy that workers would no longer be exploited if human labor were replaced with technology. Yet the Industrial Revolution's utopian promise goes unfulfilled as Verne's ideal technological societies fall prey to despotism.

In *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, the son of an Indian raja, unable to liberate his people from the British, leaves land to find freedom but imprisons and enslaves three passengers in his high-tech submarine. In *Black Indies* (1877), a subterranean community is threatened by a property-hungry madman and responds by instituting a police state. Because Verne displays such hostility toward authority, it is not surprising that one critic has called him a closet anarchist, another an underground revolutionary.

Digging up the sources: Williams' discussion of Verne's and other underground utopias reveals an important point about much science fiction: futuristic vehicles are often red herrings. What's important is less how characters travel than the nature of the communities where

they end up. As the British literary historian Raymond Williams puts it in an essay called "Utopia and Science Fiction": "The mode of travel does not commonly affect the place discovered."

I mention Raymond Williams because he shares more than a surname with Rosalind Williams. Both Williamses—as well as Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Eric Hobsbawm, Terry Eagleton and Frederic Jameson (all of whom appear in the footnotes of this book)—are part of a Western European and American movement to reinterpret Marxism so that it does not oversimplify the relationship of literature to social change. Gone is the simpliminded

Technological practice and aesthetic discourse cross-fertilized each other, and so should not be viewed separately.

determinism so popular in the Stalin era that teaches that art merely depicts pre-existing socioeconomic conditions. While Rosalind Williams writes that 19th-century novels

about the underground express anxieties spawned by the Industrial Revolution, she also shows a reverse process whereby imaginative works inspired the use of technology in the real world.

According to Williams, the journeys to the underworld dreamed up by fiction writers shaped 19th-century science. For example, excavation—including mining and the building of tunnels, subways and urban utility systems—"was cast in mythological terms, as a heroic journey into forbidden realms." In fact, a mid-19th-century Baedeker guidebook recommended that tourists visit Parisian sewers—and they did.

Subterranean sublime: Technological practice and aesthetic discourse cross-fertilized each other, and so should not be viewed separately, Williams' study suggests. With the Industrial Revolution, for example, writers expanded the aesthetic concept of the sublime—a feeling of awe evoked by immense size and grandeur—to apply not just to mountains and volcanoes but to technological wonders such as mines and electrically lighted caves.

A taste for the sublime even influenced the development of the city, with its illuminated commercial arcades. "The fantasy of the enclosed artificial environment has flourished, primarily because it is so marketable," she asserts. To judge from today's proliferation of vast underground shopping malls, a taste for the sublime still influences the way we shape the world.

But sublimity is only part of what attracted 19th-century writers to the underground. In counterpoint to the view of nature that dominated the Industrial Revolution—that nature is a mine to be excavated to serve human needs—was a budding conservation movement that appreciated nature for its own sake. "The more human-made structures degrade the natural environment, the more alluring becomes the self-enclosed, self-constructed paradise," writes Williams. "Technological blight promotes technological fantasy."

Karen Rosenberg writes regularly on technology and culture for a variety of publications.

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Yugoslavia

Continued from page 8

wrongs of the 1912-13 Balkan War treaties. IMRO's young leadership—comprised, in part, of great-grandsons of the original liberation fighters—are undoubtedly armed, trained and prepared to die for their cause. "We've always been a democratic group, pushed to militancy by others," says IMRO Secretary Boris Zmejovski. "It shouldn't have come to civil war. What belongs to Macedonia belongs to Macedonia. But if that's not recognized, you won't find us quivering."

The nationalist dynamic in Macedonia, as well as in the other republics, is intrinsically connected to Yugoslavia's movement as a whole. The fragmentation of the six republics only implies the increased isolation of minorities within ever-stricter, more chauvinistic borders. The isolation of the Serb minority in an independent Croatia or Macedonia, for example, would only exacerbate resentment. And the repercussions of trade wars aid no one.

A flexible, democratic federal structure for Yugoslavia—and for all of Europe—would minimize the importance of national borders and undermine demands for "greater" states to protect national interests. In Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, the full inclusion of the Albanian minorities in the political process is a prerequisite to building a democratic state.

The more transparent the political, economic, cultural and national frontiers, the greater the chance for peaceful co-existence. The alternative is civil war. The choice is now in the hands of the Yugoslavs. □

NEW YORK

November 26-December 8

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL

MONDAY, NOV. 26—Peter Gran: Antonio Gramsci's Theory of the Intellectual (fourth of a five-session seminar; single admission \$10); 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 28—Peter Marcuse: Actually Existing Socialist Housing in Eastern Europe; 8 p.m.; \$5.
THURSDAY, NOV. 29—Nelson Moe: Antonio Gramsci on the Sexual Question (last of a five-session seminar; single admission \$10); 6 p.m.
John Pittman: Philosophical Readings of Karl Marx's Capital (first of a three-session seminar; tuition \$30, single admission \$10); 8 p.m.
FRIDAY, NOV. 30 (Mark Twain born, 1835)—Workshop by The Theatre of the Oppressed Laboratory: Theater and Therapy; open to the general public; 7 p.m.; \$7.
SATURDAY, DEC. 1—Workshop by The Theatre of the Oppressed Laboratory: The History, Theory and Techniques of Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed; open to the general public; 2-5 p.m.; \$5.
Joe Fonda and Bottoms Out: Concert; 8 p.m.; \$7.
SUNDAY, DEC. 2 (John Brown hanged, 1859)—Real-Poetik Reading Series: Miriam Halliday-Borkowski and Douglas Gordon; 3 p.m.; \$5.
Landscapes: paintings and drawings by Virginia Creighton and James Melcher (opening); 6-9 p.m.
MONDAY, DEC. 3—Gerardo Renique: Capitalist Disorder and the Drug Policy (second of a three-part seminar; single admission \$10); 8 p.m.
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 5—Peter Sweeny: Living in Havana, Rebuilding Havana, an eyewitness report; 8 p.m.; \$5.
THURSDAY, DEC. 6—John Pittman: Philosophical Readings of Karl Marx's Capital (second of a three-session seminar; single admission \$10); 8 p.m.
FRIDAY, DEC. 7—Jane Goldberg: Topical Tap, lecture/dance performance; 8 p.m.; \$10.
SATURDAY, DEC. 8—Interstice: Concert; 8 p.m.; \$7.
All events take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 941-0332.

PHILADELPHIA

November 30-December 2

A NEW STAGE IN THE BATTLE FOR UNION DEMOCRACY, a conference held by the Association for Union Democracy at the Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel. The conference is scheduled for Friday even-

ing, and all day Saturday and Sunday. Featured speakers include Glenn Berrien, president, Mail Handlers Union; Jerry Tucker, director, New Directions Movement; Jane Slaughter, editor, Labor Notes; Lewie Anderson, president, REAP; Ray Rogers, Corporate Campaign; Ron Carey, candidate for Teamsters president; Ken Paff, national organizer, Teamsters for a Democratic Union; Kim Fellner, executive director, National Writers Union; Victor Reuther, founder, UAW; and Joseph "Chip" Yablonski, attorney. For more information, contact AUD, YMCA Building, 30 Third Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217, (718) 855-6650.

BOSTON

December 1

A New England-wide march and rally against war in the Persian Gulf will be held on Saturday at 1 p.m. in Copley Square, with a march to the Boston Common followed by a rally at 2:30 p.m. Nationally known speakers include Daniel Ellsberg, Gus Newport and Dessiam Williams. Entertainment includes live music and political satirist Barry Crimmins. Contact the Emergency Coalition for Peace, Justice, and Non-intervention in the Middle East, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 661-8066.

April 30

Call for submissions for Fiction Anthology about Lesbian and Gay Parenting from men, women, teens and children. Looking to represent a wide spectrum of experience: artificial insemination, adoption, custody issues, choosing/not choosing to parent, child/parent/friend relationships, multi-ethnic perspectives, etc. Prose only. All submissions must be double-spaced. Contributors will be paid. Address submissions and requests for information to: Parenting Anthology, 152 Kittredge St., Boston, MA 02131. Please include SASE. Submission deadline: April 30, 1991.

WASHINGTON, DC

December 2

PARTY TO WELCOME BERNIE SANDERS TO WASHINGTON. Join us in celebrating the election of the first socialist to Congress in 40 years! A \$10 admission fee will help retire the campaign debt. The celebration will feature music, Vermont's own Catamount beer, and Ben & Jerry's ice cream. Door prizes, including Vermont art and crafts, will be raffled. The event will take place between 7 and 9:30

p.m. at the Eastern Market. For further information, please contact (202) 338-0199.

HARTFORD, CT

December 6

Opening of "The American Left, 1870-1950," the first major museum exhibition of its kind, with more than 100 historic posters, broadsides, cartoons, buttons and original prints and paintings by many artists, including Gelfert, Rivera, Gropper, from Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, IWW, Communist Party, left unions, fraternal and ethnic movements, etc. MUSEUM OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE, 200 Bloomfield Ave., West Hartford. Opening Forum, 7 p.m., features Barbara Ehrenreich, Charlene Mitchell, William Phillips, Milton Cantor, Paul Buhle. (Show runs to June 1991.) Exhibit catalogue with narrative by Paul Buhle, \$5. For more information, call (203) 243-4090.

CHICAGO

December 9

The ACLU of Illinois Roger Baldwin Foundation presents BILL OF RIGHTS CELEBRATION DINNER, 5:30 p.m. at Guild Hall in the Ambassador West Hotel, 1300 N. State Parkway. Dinner includes awards presentation and entertainment featuring emcee Arnie Kanter and guest speaker Andrei Codrescu (poet, essayist and commentator on National Public Radio's "All Things Considered"). Tickets: \$100. Proceeds from the event will benefit the ACLU of Illinois legal program. For reservations or additional information, contact Curtis Wright, Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU, Inc., 20 E. Jackson Boulevard, Suite 1600, Chicago, IL 60604-2203, (312) 427-7330.

January 18-March 30

FORCED OUT: THE AGONY OF THE REFUGEE IN OUR TIME. The Peace Museum presents an exhibition of photomurals and texts documenting the plight of political refugees worldwide. The exhibit is presented in cooperation with Amnesty International. Also on display is Peace 101, a timeline of the peace movement with buttons, posters and artifacts from around the world. Hours: Open seven days a week, noon-5 p.m. (Thurs., noon-8 p.m.). Admission: \$3.50 adults; \$2.00 students, children and senior citizens. For more information, contact The Peace Museum, 430 W. Erie Street, Chicago, IL 60610, (312) 440-1860.

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By Tom Engelhardt

"A. Senior Official, who insisted on anonymity, said Mr. Scowcroft's discussions with the president had helped set the guidelines for what the administration was willing to tolerate in the Gulf...."

That phrase—"who insisted on anonymity"—buried in an October 1 *New York Times* article may signal the first significant change in journalistic standards in the post-Cold War era. In particular, anonymity in news sourcing, a fixture of the modern media, could soon become obsolete. Already the hint of change at the *Times* has been hailed by some as a "new sourcing openness" and decried by others as a shocking breach in media manners.

Only two facts are incontestable. First, for a newspaper not to grant a source like Mr. Official his wished-for anonymity is unheard of. (That he was identified as not wanting to be identified only emphasizes the point.) Second, a media marketing survey, released September 25 by the polling firm of Marshack & Grant, shocked the news industry by revealing an inexplicable preference among 18-to-25 year olds—an audience segment beloved by advertisers—for knowing where the news was actually coming from.

Press insiders stress that, in an industry losing younger readers and ad lineage, the *Times* piece and the survey are linked events. "I'd bet my bolos on it," comments A. Highly Placed Insider at *Newsweek*. "The survey goosed the *Times* into sending a coded message to advertisers. If you look at that piece, you have two fully ID'd sources—Another Official and An Official—and an array of typically absurd pseudonyms—Scowcroft, Cheney, Bush—for sources who demanded anonymity. So, at the very least," Mr. Insider continued, "somebody meant the protesting Mr. Senior Official to stand out like a sore thumb."

Wonder who's Kissinger now: For a media outsider to appreciate what's at stake, a few historical basics are in order. In the post-World War II era, a reporter who wanted to gain access to Washington's vast government bureaucracy had to be willing to offer sources near-blanket anonymity. This involved an almost automatic process of assigning them "names" whose absurdity was meant to signal their pseudonymous nature. For example, the ubiquitous "Henry Kissinger" is believed to have been not one but numerous foreign-policy officials in several different Cold War administrations, bound together only by their distinctly Germanic accents.

There were, however, always a few critics who argued that such business-as-usual anonymity made the daily newspaper all but meaningless for the normal reader. In recent years, there has been a growing insistence, initially among younger reporters and editors, that anonymity has no place in a free press. "No more Nixons, Brzezinskis or Sununus," demands Another Media Consultant. "From now on, we want nitty-gritty IDs and nothing else."

A 1990 study of the "credibility crisis of the American news media" by A. Credible Media Expert from the University of Hawaii confirms this countertrend. In at least 50 percent of all sentences involving attribution in 1,130 "inside the Beltway" articles, sources

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According to our usual unreliable sources, they have been the source of our unreliability.

were correctly identified as A. Middle-Level Official, A. Press Aide, A. Congressional Defense Expert and the like—a 14.67 percent decrease in less than a decade.

To confirm that this countertrend predated the recent flap at the *Times*, this reporter fed Thomas Friedman and Maureen Dowd's May 1990 portrait of the pseudonymous "Jim Baker, secretary of state" in the *New York Times Magazine* into Sourcerer, a software program developed by the Institute of Sourcing Analysis in Cambridge, Mass. Sourcerer's "new sourcing profile" was unmistakable. While the piece still had its pseudonymous "Fitzwaters" and

"Bushes," statistically it nearly hit the 60 percent mark when it came to the crucial political names like A. Longtime Associate, Some Friends and the brothers A. Senior Administration Official and A. White House Official.

Source spot: The subject of the present controversy, Mr. Senior Official, who is to appear on the Phil Donahue show later this week ("The sources of pain, the pain of sources"), has refused all comment. However, an interview with his father, Mr. Official Sr., offered some insight into the controversy.

Seated at a corner table in the No-Name Bar & Grill in a nondescript Washington neighborhood, Mr. Official Sr. was sipping a glass of American beer. "Of course, you must use my name," he said in a firm but hushed tone. "Remember, though, it's two 'f's. You know, if there was one thing we tried to drum into our son's head, it was a certain pride in himself. If Mrs. Official Sr.

and I hadn't had faith in his abilities from the beginning, we would have named him An or Another or, at best, Middle-Level, but not Senior. Still, these events have been confusing for us. Ever since the Truman administration, three generations of Officials have stood proudly behind our name. So to have your own son quoted from one coast to the other opting for pseudonymity hasn't exactly been a pleasure. On the other hand, whatever my son's reasons may be," he said, grimacing, "to request anonymity and to be publicly rebuked in this fashion is, to our minds, unconscionable!"

"They can complain all they want," replies a Highly Placed Editor ("Call me H.P.!") at the *Times*, "but they can't erase the handwriting on the wall. Look at our coverage of the Iraqi crisis. Why, there's practically nothing but Officials and Experts and Senior Aides quoted. When it comes to open sourcing, you can't turn back the clock in media reporting."

Tom Engelhardt is a pseudonym for A. Satirist, who lives in New York.

